

PAPERS
OF THE
BRITISH SCHOOL AT ROME



VOL VIII. No. 5

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THE VIA TRAIANA.

BY THOMAS ASHBY AND ROBERT GARDNER.

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ILLUSTRATIONS IN THE TEXT.

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THE VIA TRAIANA.

BY THOMAS ASHBY AND ROBERT GARDNER.

A.—THE HISTORY OF THE VIA TRAIANA.

LONG before the Romans had established the foundations of their power in Southern Italy, there must necessarily have existed numerous natural routes of communication between the principal centres of population, which were later utilised by the conquerors as they developed and civilised what they had won with their swords. As the Romans advanced from point to point, planting in the best strategical positions military colonies, which not only secured freshly conquered territory, but also served as bases from which advances against tribes, still un-subjugated, could be directed, it was essential that each new outpost, particularly if it had been established in an area in which there still remained an openly menacing foe, should be connected with a base of strength and security by an easy means of communication.

A natural line of passage between Maleventum, the chief town of the Hirpini, which the Romans colonised as Beneventum in 268 B.C., and the north Apulian plain, must have existed since very early times. In the very heart of this plain lay the important city of Luceria, which, before the establishment there of a Latin colony in 314 B.C., was favourably disposed to Rome. It was in order to relieve that city from the pressure of a besieging army of Samnites that a Roman army marched from

Calatia, only to be entrapped in the Caudine Forks. Whatever doubts may be cast upon the authenticity of Livy's narrative where he describes that notorious catastrophe, it is not open to us to dispute his indications relating to the two ways by which Luceria was reached from Rome in 321 B.C. He says (ix. 2): 'Duae ad Luceriam ferebant viae, altera praeter oram superi maris, patens apertaue, sed quanto tutior, tanto fere longior, altera per furculas Caudinas, brevior.' There is only one difficulty connected with this passage—and even that may be overcome by a very probable conjecture. That there was a road running to Luceria along the coast of the Adriatic, in the plain between the edge of the Apennines and the sea, is from the very nature of the country indisputable. But Livy fails to enlighten us upon this most interesting and important question: 'How did this road from Rome cross the Apennines in order to reach the easy stretches down the Adriatic coast to Apulia?' To this question, difficult as it may seem, there can only be one correct answer. The route followed by the old Via Tiburtina, prolonged at later dates to the Adriatic through Carseoli, Alba Fucens, Corfinium and Teate as the Via Valeria and the Via Claudia Valeria, was the only practicable way connecting Rome with a coast road leading by the Adriatic to Luceria. It is probable that the other route ('altera per furculas Caudinas, brevior') followed the Via Latina¹ from Rome to Capua, and thence the later course of the Via Appia to Maleventum (as it was then called).

We might, again, desiderate a little more clearness in Livy's narrative, when we ask ourselves, what was the course of the road between the *furculae Caudinae* and Luceria? But a careful study of the geography of the Apennines between Beneventum and Luceria will reveal to us the route which the troops of Calvinus and Postumius would have taken if they had escaped the ignominy of capture in the Caudine Forks. From Caudium (the modern Montesarchio, which stands upon a commanding eminence to the south-east of Monte Taburno) the valley of the Corvo, an affluent of the Calore, later followed by the Via Appia, would take them to the Hirpinian Maleventum. Thence they would have struck

¹ Since Capua joined Rome in 340–338 B.C. and since the colony of Cales was founded in 334, we might even assume that the Via Latina was the first military highroad to Capua. Cf. *Papers of British School at Rome*, iv. 4 seq. The Via Appia is clearly out of the question unless Appius made use of an old track) as it was not constructed until 312 B.C.

in a north-easterly direction, keeping as far as possible to the valley of the Miscano until they reached the watershed from which this stream and the Celone (the ancient Aquilo) descend north and south respectively. Near the modern Buccolo di Troia they would arrive at the end of their climb—to find Luceria in sight, about sixteen miles away.

It has also been thought¹ that an ancient road left the Via Appia at Aeclanum and ran north from the valley of the Ufita in a gradual ascent to the neighbourhood of the modern Ariano di Puglia, whence it descended into the valley of the Cerebalus (the present Cervaro) and reached Herdoniae (Ordona) after forty-four miles by way of Vibinum (Bovino). But, although the highroad, constructed in the middle of the eighteenth century, and the railway from Benevento to Foggia follow the valley of the Cervaro for a score of miles, there is no evidence whatever to show that an ancient road ever passed that way.

To the traveller who chances to pass over the slowly rising country between the modern village of Ordona and the cathedral town of Troia, the clear-cut ravine, where the Cervaro issues out from its mountain prison into the freedom of the Apulian plain, seems destined by nature for the passage of an ancient highway. But at the headwaters of the Cervaro things are totally different. The modern railway from Benevento only reaches them by circuitous and extensive tunnelling, and we must remember that the engineers of Roman roads conquered their difficulties in quite a different way. On the hypothesis that an ancient road utilised the valley of the Cervaro, we must assume that its construction was started on the south and not on the north side of the source of that river; and the nature of the country between Benevento and the entrance to its convenient valley compels us to conclude that the disadvantages of the ascent to the summit level where the Cervaro rises outweighed the advantages of the descent on the other side. Therefore, if before the construction of the Via Traiana in 109 A.D. there was a Roman road leading from Beneventum to the north Apulian plain, it followed the valleys of the Calore Miscano and Celone rather than that of the Cervaro.

¹ Nissen, *Ital. Land.* ii. pp. 818, 819. He identifies this road with the Via Aurelia Aeclanensis, but beyond the republican milestone (*C.I.L.* ix. 6073) existing at S. Maria della Manna, between Grottaminarda and Ariano di Puglia, which he wrongly refers to this road and not with Mommsen (*C.I.L.* ix. p. 602) to the Via Appia, he has no evidence at all for the existence of this road.

It was by this way that Hannibal passed in 217 B.C. when he marched from Arpi¹ to Beneventum and Telesia, while the foundation of the colony of Sipontum in 194 B.C. would contribute also to its importance.

Although it is highly improbable from the absence of milestones and direct literary evidence that in the Republican times there was a *via publica*² which connected Beneventum with the north Apulian plain, and so by a natural extension with the important ports of Barium and Brundisium, it is indisputable that in the last century of the Republic there was a recognised route between Beneventum and Brundisium (other than the Via Appia) which followed the old track from Beneventum towards Luceria and, reaching the plain, continued until it arrived at its final destination.

The following evidence bears testimony to the existence of this route. Cicero writes to Atticus (vi. 1, 1) that he has received 'Omnes fere (litteras) quas commemoras, praeter eas quas scribis Lentuli pueris et

¹ Livy, xxii. 13, 1. Hannibal ex Hirpinis in Samnium transit, Beneventanum depopulatur agrum, Telesiam urbem capit. 'Hirpinis' is Weissenborn's reading. Grasso (*Studi*, vol. iii. pp. 1-18) wishes to read 'ex Arpinis.'

Dr. Reid feels a difficulty about the reading 'ex Arpinis' upon the score of Latinity. He does not know of any parallel to this use of *ex* with the name of a town population, not a people. He points out also that one would gather from the reading *ex Arpinis* that Hannibal went straight to Beneventum. But evidently both Livy and Polybius make him do destruction to the south of it before he came near it. This leads naturally to the supposition that he passed by Aquilonia, which suits the reading *ex Hirpinis*.

² The difficult question of the Via Minucia is quite unsolved. From Cicero, *ad Att.* ix. 6 (*cohortesque sex quae Albae fuissent ad Curium via Minucia transisse*) and from the indications supplied by Caesar, B.C. i. 16 and 24, it is clear that Alba Fucens lay upon it, and from Horace, *Ep.* i. 18, 20 (Brundisium Minuci melius via ducat an Appi), that it was an alternative route to the Via Appia between Rome and Brundisium. It is unfortunate that we do not know where Curius, Caesar's partisan, was when he was joined by the six defaulting cohorts. It could not have been another name for the Via Valeria, which, constructed in 154 B.C., led in Strabo's time from Tibur to Alba Fucens and Corfinium. In 48-49 A.D. it was prolonged to the *ostia Aterni* (*C.I.L.* ix. 5973) by Claudius as the Via Claudia Valeria. Bunbury (*Dict. Geog.* ii. 1282) thinks that the Via Minucia may have been the road described by Strabo (vi. 3, 7) between Brundisium and Beneventum, but it is impossible to reconcile this with Cicero, *ad Att.* ix. 6. It may be suggested that the road running from Corfinium on the Via Valeria to Beneventum on the Via Appia through Sulmo, Aufidena, Aesernia, Bovianum Undecimanorum and Saepinum may have been partially or wholly the Via Minucia. Brundisium would then be reached from Beneventum by Strabo's road. Such a road is indicated by the Itineraries (*C.I.L.* ix. p. 203). It is tempting to imagine that a cross road may have run between Corfinium and Strabo's road, reaching the latter at Aequeum Tuticum, but the character of the country no less than the entire absence of evidence, militates against this supposition. Mommsen says (*C.I.L.* ix. p. 589) *vasta regio quae interiacet inter Valeriam et Latinam Traianamque antiqua aetate viis publicis populi Romani fere caruisse videtur*. Cf. also *C.I.L.* vol. ix. Tab. iii.

Equotutico et Brundisio datas.' Since the old Samnite city of Aequum Tuticum is most certainly to be identified with the modern site of S. Eleuterio, near the head waters of the Miscano between Benevento and Troia, we must admit that Cicero, and countless other travellers as well, travelled from Beneventum to Brundisium along a regular route, which crossed the Apennines by approximately the same way as the old road from the Caudine Forks to Luceria.

Much more definite still is the information supplied by Horace and Strabo. The poet,¹ in describing the journey which in 38 B.C. he made between Rome and Brundisium in the company of Maecenas, Virgil, Varius and others, says that after Beneventum he passed near Trivicum, through an 'oppidulum, quod versu dicere non est,' Canusium, Rubi, Barium and Gnatia. Strabo,² writing in the age of Augustus, says: 'Furthermore, for those who are crossing from Greece and Asia it is more direct to sail to Brundisium, and indeed all passengers for Rome land there. Thence there are two routes, one of which is a mule track and advances through the Peucetii, who are called the Poedicli, the Daunii and the Samnites as far as Beneventum. On this route lie the cities of Egnatia, Caelia, Netium, Canusium and Herdoniae. The other, which makes a slight détour to the left involving an extra day's journey, is called the Via Appia, and is more suitable for carriages. On this are the cities of Uria and Venusia, the one between Tarentum and Brundisium, the other on the boundary between the Samnites and the Lucanians. Starting from Brundisium they meet at Beneventum.' Horace did not follow the Via Appia all the way from Rome to Brundisium, but only to a point just beyond Beneventum. From Strabo the distinction between the old Via Appia, through Venusia and Tarentum, and the 'mule track'³ through Egnatia, Canusium and Herdoniae is perfectly clear. But we must consider for a moment the divergences between the routes described respectively by Horace and Strabo. The two cities which are common to both are Canusium and Gnatia. From Gnatia to Brundisium it is *prima facie* apparent that the two routes coincided exactly; there can be no reason for any possible divergence. But the two courses

¹ Horace, *Sat.* i, 5.

² Strabo, vi. 3, 7, c. 282, 283.

³ We must notice that Strabo says 'ἀμαξήλατος μάλλον' of the Via Appia and must assume that carriage traffic was not out of the question on the other road, which he designates as 'ἡμιονική'—i.e. more convenient for mules than carriages.

between Beneventum and Canusium constitute a serious problem, compared with which that relating to those between the latter city and Gnatia sinks into insignificance. It is unfortunate that Strabo does not mention the name of any intermediate city between Herdoniae and Beneventum, and that Horace does not describe more lucidly the position of his *oppidulum*. However, it is almost certain that the two are concerned with quite different routes, for the following reasons. In the first place, Strabo distinctly says that the two roads from Brundisium met 'at Beneventum.' Horace's¹ language is as follows :—

Incipit ex illo (Benevento) montes Apulia notos
ostentare mihi, quos torret Atabulus et quos
numquam erepsemus, nisi nos vicina Trivici
villa recepisset,
Quattuor hinc rapimur viginti et milia raedis,
mansuri oppidulo quod versu dicere non est,
signis perfacile est : venit vilissima rerum
hic aqua ; sed panis longe pulcherrimus, ultra
callidus ut soleat umeris portare viator ;
nam Canusi lapidosus, aquae non ditior urna
qui locus a forti Diomede est conditus olim.

There is no necessity to quote the multitudinous opinions which have been expressed from time to time with regard to the identity of that mysterious *oppidulum* in which Horace spent a night. That it was Aequeum Tuticum is impossible, since, not only was that place quite out of the line which Horace certainly took, but there is a beautiful fountain of water there (and, indeed, the whole neighbourhood is full of springs), so that one of the essential conditions is not fulfilled. We discern only two fixed points on Horace's journey between Beneventum and Canusium—a 'villa Trivici vicina' and an 'oppidulum' 24 miles away from that stopping-place. In order to reach the vicinity of Trivicum (probably the modern village of Trevico, situated on a magnificent summit 1,090 metres above the sea) he must have followed the Via Appia from Beneventum to Aeclanum and then, *leaving* it, have diverged to the left and entered the valley of the Fiumarella (the Vallone dei Franchi) just north-west of the modern village of Flumeri. There is an easy

¹ *Satires*, i. 5, 77-92.

course along this valley until the summit level is reached N.N.E. of Trevico, from which spot there is a glorious view of that mountain village. From Horace's language, 'quattuor hinc *rapimur* viginti et milia raedis,' may we not suppose that he is speaking of a rapid rush down from a summit level? The character of the route, which was the only possible choice for Horace after he had left the villa and its smoky kitchen near Trivicum, was to follow the convenient valley of the Calaggio, which is known in its later course as the Carapelle and flows past the villages of Candela, Ascoli Satriano and Ordona into the north Apulian plain. As we can locate with approximate certainty the position of the 'vicina Trivici villa,' whence it was a descent of 24 miles to the unmetrical and waterless *oppidulum*, it seems best to follow the consensus¹ of modern opinion and say that Horace and his fellow travellers descended the Calaggio valley to the ancient Ausculum (the modern Ascoli Satriano), and then cut across the plateau to the road described by Strabo, which they would meet near Canusium or perhaps not far from the modern Cerignola. Thus it is clear that between Canusium and Beneventum Horace and Strabo describe different routes. The poet left the Via

¹ Mommsen (*C.I.L.* ix. p. 62) and Nissen (*Ital. Land.* ii. p. 845) both favour Ausculum. Grasso (*Studi di storia antica*, 1893, p. 57-75) likewise suggests Ausculum, but later in the appendix to the same edition (pp. 146, 147) he is inclined to place his faith in Herdoniae. This idea he develops in the introduction to *Studi*, vol. ii. 1896, with the conclusion that Herdoniae must have been the *oppidulum*, since the correct form (Herdoniae) is clearly unmetrical, much more so than Ausculum. Besides, Ausculum is on a lofty hill three or four miles north of the direct line from the Calaggio valley to Cerignola or Canosa and no ancient road would have gone in and out of Ausculum. On the score of actual distance neither Ausculum nor Herdoniae entirely satisfies the equation. If Horace's 'vicina Trivici villa' be located at the summit level on the watershed between the valleys of the Fiumarella and the Calaggio, then Ausculum (29 kilometres or about 20 Roman miles distant) is too near and Herdoniae (43 kilometres or some 28 Roman miles) is too distant. The question is complicated by our uncertain knowledge of the time spent by Horace between Beneventum and Trivicum. If he spent only one day, perhaps we must place his villa somewhere in the Vallone dei Franchi before the summit level is reached, and so Ausculum is more satisfactory than Herdoniae, because by taking the villa farther back the distance to Ausculum more nearly approaches 24 miles. That the 'vicina Trivici villa' is a varying factor naturally makes the *oppidulum* correspondingly variable. It is only a theory of despair to suppose that Horace was mistaken in the distance, and as neither Ausculum nor Herdoniae is convincingly satisfactory, perhaps Horace passed the night at some village whose memorials have perished with it.

Dr. J. S. Reid thinks that one point against Ausculum is that Horace would not have hesitated to contract the name to Ausclum, if he wanted to get it into the verse (so Silius Italicus, viii. 440). As the *u* between *c* and *l* is not represented on the Oscan coins, one may conjecture that the local pronunciation of the name was probably still Ausclum. As to the 24 miles, some astounding errors are on record as made by Roman travellers. See L. W. Hunter, 'Cicero's Journey to his Province in 51 B.C.' in *J.R.S.* vol. iii. Pt. i. 1913, p. 73-97.

Appia not at Beneventum, but at or a little beyond Aeclanum (the first station, 15 miles from Beneventum) and, crossing the Apennine chain by means of the convenient valleys of the Fiumarella and the Calaggio, reached the line of the road described by Strabo somewhere between Herdoniae and Canusium. The geographer, since he distinctly says that the two roads between Brundisium and Beneventum meet at the latter place, and not before, must mean that after passing through Herdoniae the 'mule-track' reached Beneventum by way of the valley of the Aquilo (the modern T. Celone), Aequum Tuticum and the valleys of the Miscano and Calore. Horace's route between Aeclanum and the north Apulian plain was in Imperial times converted into the Via Aurelia Aeclanensis,¹ while the road described by Strabo became in 109 A.D. the famous Via Traiana.

For the stretch between Canusium and Gnatia it is easy to reconcile the divergent statements of Horace and Strabo. From Canusium the former passed through Rubi before reaching the coast at Barium, following the line of the later Via Traiana through the modern Bitonto. From Barium he would descend down the coast to Gnatia (the present Torre d'Egnazia). Strabo, on the other hand (if we describe his route from west to east and not *vice versa*), says that the recognised route passed inland through Netium and Caelia between Canusium and Gnatia. Both routes were in regular use in Imperial times and the divergence is treated in detail later on (pages 161-2).

Upon the conclusion of the conquest of Italy the Via Appia lost all importance as a military highroad, for it was outside Italy rather than within her borders that troops were henceforth required to operate. In short, the Via Appia soon became a means of reaching Brundisium much more than a mode of connection with Venusia and Tarentum, whose importance decreased just as that of Brundisium increased. Except in times of Civil War there was no longer any urgent necessity for the maintenance of direct military communications between Venusia, the military colony of 291 B.C., and Rome. Tarentum became a health resort and lived on the proceeds of her fleecy sheep from the Galaesus' pastures and on her purple fisheries. But Brundisium became a harbour of surpassing importance, for it was there that soldiers, merchants,

¹ An inscription of Aeclanum (C.I.L. ix. 1156) speaks of work "*in via ducente Herdonias*."

and all manner of travellers took ship for Greece and the East. And to-day its importance is no less striking. Owing to the sovereign consideration of speed to the ancient no less than to the modern traveller, it was of great advantage to be able to reach Brundisium from Beneventum by a route other than the Via Appia, which had the saving merit, so Strabo says, of being shorter by one day than the old Republican highroad. It is true that according to the Itineraries (which are practically accurate) the distance from Beneventum to Brundisium by the Via Appia was 197 miles, whereas by the Via Traiana (through Barium) it was about 206 miles. But we must remember that Strabo is speaking of a difference in time, not in distance; that the inland route which he describes between Gnatia and Butunti was 4 miles¹ shorter than the longer route (followed by the Via Traiana) through Barium and Rubi; and that a mule track can accommodate itself to difficult country much more readily than a paved highroad. There is another consideration, too. Not until Venusia is reached, 66 miles from Beneventum, does the Via Appia become level and easy, whereas, although the other road has to encounter equally severe hills between Beneventum and the summit level beyond Aequeum Tuticum (971 metres near the Masseria S. Vito), its troubles are over after 40 miles and there is not another serious hill all the way to Brundisium. This factor may contribute to the difference in time. Thus it is easy to admit that Strabo was correct in saying that the Via Appia was the longer of the two routes by one day, even though in point of actual mileage, according to the Itineraries, the later Via Traiana exceeded the earlier road by some 9 miles. According to measurements, however, the Via Appia from Beneventum to Brundisium was about 203 miles, the Via Traiana 205. If the difference was one day in Strabo's time, it ought to have been even greater when the mule track became a highroad.

There is much eloquent testimony to demonstrate that both roads were in frequent use during the last century of the Republic and the first century of the Empire. For example, in 49 B.C. Pompey writes to Cicero thus: 'Censeo via Appia iter facias et celeriter Brundisium venias'; while, on the other hand, we have the evidence of Horace, Cicero and Strabo previously quoted, no less than the frequent mention of Canusium in descriptions of journeys to Brundisium.

¹ The coast route between Butunti and Gnatia is 49, the inland route is 45 miles long.

Although we have seen that in Republican times and in the first century of the Empire a recognised highroad, quite distinct from the Via Appia, connected Beneventum and Brundisium by way of Aequum Tuticum, Herdoniae, Canusium and Gnatia, we have no evidence whatever to show that this road was over a *via publica*, paved, maintained and administered by the State, until in 109 A.D.¹ the Emperor Trajan constructed at his own expense a road leading from Beneventum to Brundisium. This was the Via Traiana. Of the original milestones erected by Trajan we possess a remarkable² collection; they are all of the following pattern:—

IMP · CAESAR
 DIVI · NERVAE · F
 NERVA · TRAIANVS
 AVG · GERM · DACIC
 PONT · MAX · TR · POT
 XIII · IMP VI COS V
 P P
 VIAM A BENEVENTO
 BRVNDISIVM PECVN
 SVA FECIT.

In the inscription *C.I.L.* ix. 6005 (belonging to a cippus, not a milestone, Fig. 1. see below, p. 127) there is the very noteworthy addition of 'ET PONTES' after 'VIAM,' and 'PECVNIA' was written in full. With the exception of these milestones we possess singularly little evidence relating to the Via Traiana. Nowhere is it mentioned in classical literature; its name is not expressly stated in the ancient Itineraries, although the stations and distances are recorded with clearness and accuracy, except in one or two notorious places. But we possess numismatic evidence of the existence of the Via Traiana. Coins³ struck under Trajan bear the following inscription:—

IMP · CAES · NERVAE · TRAIANO · AVG · GER · DAC · P · M · |
 TR · P · COS · VI · P · P · | S · P · Q · R · OPTIMO · PRINCIPI · VIA
 TRAIANA.

¹ De la Berge, *Essai sur le règne de Trajan*, p. 108, thinks, on the other hand, that the operations began in 109 A.D. and finished three or four years later.

² *C.I.L.* ix. 5998–6055. The original stones of Trajan constitute the *bulk* of the extant milestones of this road.

³ Cohen,² 647–652.

A woman holding a wheel in her hands shows that the road was adapted for carriage traffic.



FIG. 1.—*C.I.L.* ix. 6005.

The name Via Traiana is also read upon a coin¹ struck in the third century A.D. under the name of Trajan, as follows :—

IMP · TRAIANO · PIO · FEL · AVG · P · P · and VIA TRAIANA on the reverse.

To the left is a woman reclining upon a wheel and holding a whip. It has been thought that on the north-east attic of the Arch of Constantine at Rome there is a symbolic representation² of the Via

¹ Cohen,² 667.

² For the earlier sculptures incorporated in the Arch of Constantine see E. Strong, *Roman Sculpture*, p. 291. Prof. Petersen (*Röm. Mitth.* 1890, 73 ff) has shown that all the eight panels on the Arch of Constantine belong to a monument erected in 176 A.D. to commemorate the double triumph of Marcus Aurelius over the Germans and Sarmatians which took place in the closing months of the year. Cf. H. Stuart Jones in *Papers of the British School at Rome*, vol. iii. p. 251 seq.

Traiana, in the shape of a woman seated upon the ground and reclining upon a wheel. Near her is seen the Emperor accompanied by two bearded men, one of whom is holding a scroll in his hand. De la Berge¹ thinks that this figure represents the engineer who constructed the Via Traiana, and that because the Romans were clean-shaven until the reign of Hadrian, this detail shows the engineer to be a foreigner, probably a Greek. It has been suggested² that the bearded figure represents Apollodorus, the famous architect who constructed Trajan's bridge over the Danube.

Ammianus Marcellinus (xxiv. 3, 8) records as follows an oath of Trajan: *sic in provinciarum speciem redactam videam Daciam: sic pontibus Histrum et Aufidum superem*. The codex Vaticanus, 1873, *longe praestantissimus* (followed by Gardthausen in his edition of Ammian, Leipzig, 1873, p. 11), reads *Aufidum*. *Euphratem*, however, is preferred by Gardthausen and is read also by Gronovius (1693) and the earlier printed edd. of 1517, and 1533. Clark, the latest editor, conjectures *ut Aufidum*, but the plural is against this. Grasso (*Studi*, vol. ii. p. 18) rightly remarks that the Parthian war did not take place till 114 A.D., so that the substitution of Euphrates for Aufidus cannot be explained without supposing that Trajan already intended to subdue the Parthians completely and build a bridge over the Euphrates while he was preparing for the conquest of Dacia and throwing a bridge across the Danube. Indeed 'Histrum et Euphratem' would be a kind of hendiadys. 'Aufidum,' which implies a civil feat, seems much superior.

The name 'Via Traiana' survived till comparatively late times, as we can gather from the evidence of Johannes Baptista dello Iacono di Bitonto quoted by Pratilli³ in his work upon the Via Appia. Iacono stated that he had personally given to Pratilli information received from notaries of Ruvo and Terlizzi 'who still speak of the Via Traiana every day when they make mention of local boundaries.' This survival of trustworthy local tradition is of great interest and importance. It is a very powerful auxiliary in determining the course of an ancient road.

Two of the most conspicuous monuments of the Via Traiana were not erected until after the construction of the road. At Brundisium

¹ *Op. cit.* p. 108.

² Grasso, *Studi*, vol. ii. p. 26.

³ Pratilli, *La Via Appia*, p. 432. Cf. *C.I.L.* ix. p. 593. Mommsen says (*C.I.L.* ix. p. 27) PRATILLIVS in Via Appia (1745) quae de Apulia profert, ea quatenus vera sunt, proficiscuntur fere ab Johanne Baptista DELLO IACONO Bitontino,

in 110 A.D. a statue of Trajan was erected by the *decuriones* and the *municipes* of the place. We gather this from *C.I.L.* ix. 37.

IMP · CAESARI · DIVI
 NERVAE · F · NERVAE
 TRAIANO · AVG · GERM
 DACI · PONT · MAX · TR
 POT · XIV · IMP · VI · COS · V · P · P
 BRVNDISINI · DECVRIONES
 ET MVNICIPES



FIG. 2.—ARCH OF TRAJAN AT BENEVENTUM.

In the Empire it was a common practice for the statues of the emperors responsible for the construction of a road to be placed at the head of that road. For instance, we gather from *C.I.L.* ix. 1175 that at Aeclanum, at the head of the road to Herdoniae '*euntibus in Apuliam (parata)*' (*C.I.L.* ix. 1414) statues were erected of the emperors, presumably Hadrian and Antoninus Pius, by whose permission it was constructed. Nothing further, however, is known of Trajan's statue at Brundisium.

One of the grandest works of art in the Roman world was the triumphal arch¹ erected at Beneventum by the senate and people of Rome in honour of Trajan (Fig. 2). It was intended that Trajan, in a triumphant return from his Parthian conquests, should pass along the Via Traiana and through this arch. But his death at Selinuntum (117 A.D.) prevented this. The arch was erected in 114 A.D. just outside the walls of Benevento where the Via Traiana left the city. It is now called the Porta Aurea and is a splendid and appropriate monument to the civil and military exploits of the Emperor. The dedication is as follows (*C.I.L.* ix. 5998) :—

IMP · CAESARI · DIVI · NERVAE · FILIO
 NERVAE · TRAIANO · OPTIMO · AVG
 GERMANICO · DACICO · PONTIF · MAX · TRIB
 POTEST · XVIII · IMP · VII · COS · VI · P · P ·
 FORTISSIMO · PRINCIPI · SENATVS · P · Q · R.

Of actual repairs performed upon the Via Traiana we have little record, but we possess several milestones erected in later times. With the exception of the difficulties involved in crossing the hilly country between Benevento and Troia (Aecae) no great engineering feats were necessary for the completion of the road.² Beyond the Aufidus the 'regna arida Dauni' did not obstruct the course of the Via Traiana along its later stretches.

The inscription (*C.I.L.* ix. 6010 misprinted 6011) found near the Ponte delle Chianche below Buonalbergo records repairs performed by

¹ The chief literature upon the arch is as follows :—

E. Petersen, *Römische Mitteilungen*, 1892, p. 241 *et seq.*

A. von Domaszewski, *Jahreshefte des Österreich. archäologischen Instituts* ii. 1899, 173, *Die politische Bedeutung des Traiansbogen im Benevent.*

Rossini, *Archi trionfali*, tav. 38-43.

Meomartini, *Monumenti di Benevento*, 1889, pp. 9-218 and Tav. 1-29.

² In the construction, however, of the long bridges over the Cervaro and the Carapelle (see pages 142, 146 *infra*) the engineers would encounter very considerable difficulties in finding a firm foundation and would probably have to dig quite deep through the subsoil. It was not possible from an examination of the remains of these bridges appearing above ground to form an idea of the nature of the foundations, but probably excavations would yield interesting results.

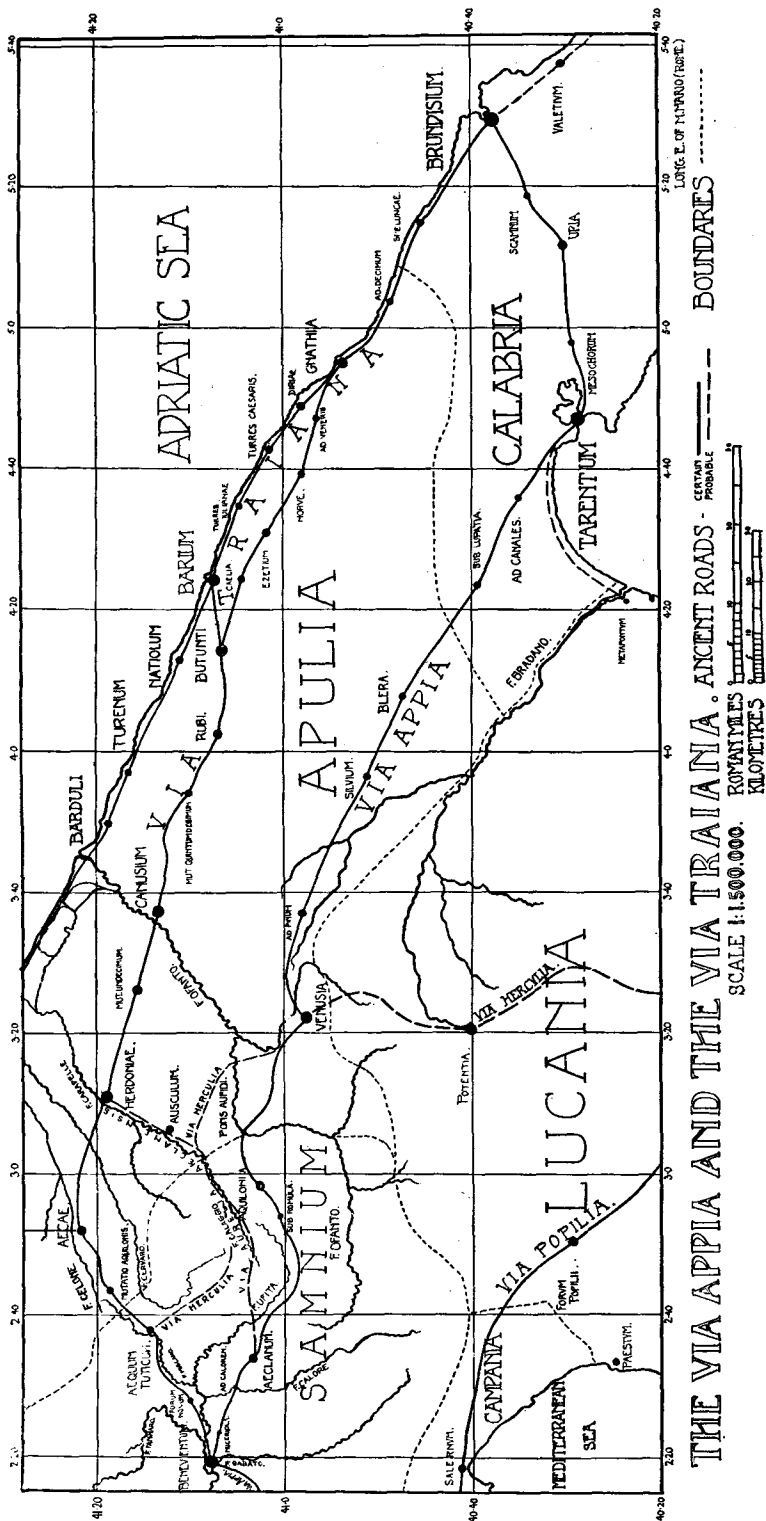
Septimius Severus and Caracalla in 210 A.D. According to the text of the inscription the road was thoroughly repaired and supported by embankments (*moles*) in certain places :—

LABENTEM·VIAM·|ampl|ISSIMIS·OPERIB|us·s|VSCEPERVNT·OB|ie
c|TISQVE·MOLIB|us su|A·PECVNIA·MV|NIERVNT.¹

No definite repairs are ascribed to Constantine, but we possess three milestones set up during his reign. One (*C.I.L.* ix. 6006) was found near Buonalbergo but was utilised later by Theodosius Arcadius and Honorius (*C.I.L.* ix. 6007). The two remaining stones can both be dated with accuracy, though from the ambiguity of their provenance it is uncertain whether they are to be ascribed to the Via Traiana or to the coast road from Sipontum which met the Via Traiana at Barium. The former, from Cannae (*C.I.L.* ix. 6028), is to be ascribed to the year 313 A.D.; the second, existing at Trani (*C.I.L.* ix. 6038), was erected in 314 A.D. The milestone (*C.I.L.* ix. 6043) existing near Corato was utilised by the Emperor Julian (355–363 A.D.); it was one of the original Trajanic milestones. There remain for brief consideration five milestones of Theodosius Arcadius and Honorius and one of Jovius Licinius. None of them bears any date or any indication of mileage. The former, cut between 384 and 394 A.D., are all of very similar pattern, though they differ in detail. Two of the inscriptions (*C.I.L.* ix. 6001, 6014) are engraved upon Trajanic milestones at Benevento and S. Eleuterio; they are both of the same type. Another (*C.I.L.* ix. 6007) is engraved upon a milestone of Constantine found at Buonalbergo. The last stone of all (*C.I.L.* ix. 6026) was erected by Jovius Licinius about the year 308 A.D.

In the reign of Trajan the Via Traiana appears to have been administered by a curator of Senatorial rank but, afterwards, on the evidence of

¹ We found no traces of these embankments on the probable course of the road below Buonalbergo; whether the later brickwork at Ponte S. Spirito (see p. 135 *infra*) could be connected with these repairs is quite uncertain. And, indeed, as far as we could judge on the spot, it would be hard to say where these embankments would be employed. The road did not there appear to coast along the slopes of the earth hills (where cuttings would hardly be permanent and embankments or supporting walls a desideratum), but climbed straight up to each summit level and then continued along the top until the next valley. Moreover, traces of Roman reconstruction are extremely rare all along the course of the road.



a Dacian inscription,¹ it has been thought that the Via Traiana and the Via Aurelia Aeclanensis were administered by an equestrian curator. It is difficult to see the reason for this change in the rank of the curator, but perhaps the Via Traiana was administered by an *eques* because, although it was an important road, it did not begin from Rome and its mileage was reckoned from Beneventum, not from Rome. Of its curators² only three are known to us. The first, Q. Roscius Falco, who had distinguished himself in Asia Minor and Judaea, was curator in 110 A.D. The second of whom we have knowledge was Q. Axius Aelianus, who administered the *res privata* in Mauretania Caesariensis under Alexander Severus. He was an *eques* and his tenure of the *cura viae Traianae* may have been exceptional.³ Of the last we know little beyond the fact that his name was Maxim(us); he was 'curator viarum Traianae et Aureliae (Aeclanensis)' and a patronus of the colony of Aeclanum.

B.—THE TOPOGRAPHY OF THE VIA TRAIANA.

(1) *From Beneventum to Herdoniae.*⁴

The ancient Itineraries⁵ record the following stations and distances upon the Via Traiana from Beneventum to Herdoniae :—

¹ *C.I.L.* iii. 1456.

² The names of the curators of the Roman roads under the Empire have all been collected by Cantarelli, *Bull. Arch. Comm.* 1891, p. 90 *et seq.*

³ Cf. Hirschfeld, *Verwaltungsbeamten*, p. 208, note 1. After the time of Claudius equestrian curators are met with only rarely and they are exclusively concerned with *viae minores*; their position corresponded to that of the *procuratores* but it was exceptional for them to be designated as *procuratores*. Cf. *C.I.L.* vi. 1610. The title, however, of *procurator* is probably genuine in the inscription mentioning Q. Axius Aelianus *C.I.L.* iii. 1456. CURATOR AD POPVL(VM) VI[ar(um)] TRAIANAE ET AVRELIAE (et) AECLANENSIS. It is certain, Hirschfeld thinks, that here we are not to think of an equestrian curator of the Via Traiana, but that the words 'ad populum' are to be referred to the roads near the large military highways.

⁴ The Italian Staff Maps (published by the Instituto Geografico Militare) on the scale of 1 : 50,000 were used as detail maps and the Touring Club Italiano Maps as general maps. All names mentioned in the topographical description of the Via Traiana are referred in footnotes to the particular sheet of the Staff Map on which they are to be found. Of the five maps accompanying the article one (p. 119) is a general map (scale 1 : 1,500,000) embracing the whole of the Via Traiana and the Via Appia (from Beneventum onwards). The remaining four are detail maps showing all the topographical names mentioned in the text; they divide the road into four sections, Beneventum to the Mutatio Aquilonis, the Mutatio Aquilonis to Herdoniae, Herdoniae to Barium and Barium to Brundisium.

⁵ *C.I.L.* ix. pp. 26, 592-598.



<i>Itin. Anton.</i>	<i>Itin. Hieros.</i>	<i>Tab. Peut.</i>	<i>Geog. Ravennae.</i>	<i>Modern Site.</i>	<i>Estimated distance.</i>
Benevento	civ. Benevento	BENEBENTO	Beneventum	Benevento	
XXI	X mut. vicus Forno novo	X Foro novo	Foro novo	R. ^e S. Arcan- gelo	9.5 miles
Equus Tuticus	XII mans. ad Equum Magnum	XII Aequo Tutico	Egotaticon	S. Eleuterio	11.5 miles
XVIII	VIII mut. Aquilonis	XVIII		N. of Capella S. Vito	8 miles
Aecas	X civ. Aecas	AECAS	Ecas	Troia	10 miles
XVIII	XVIII	ad pirum		near Mass. Pozzarsogno	7 miles
Erdonias	civ. Serdonis	Erdonia	Erdonias	Ordona	12 miles
(58 miles)	(58 miles)	?			(58 miles)

Thus the indications of the *Itin. Anton.* and the *Itin. Hieros.* are entirely accurate. Here, as elsewhere, the *Tab. Peut.* is obscure in places. The chief difficulties are briefly considered on pp. 147-8 *infra*.

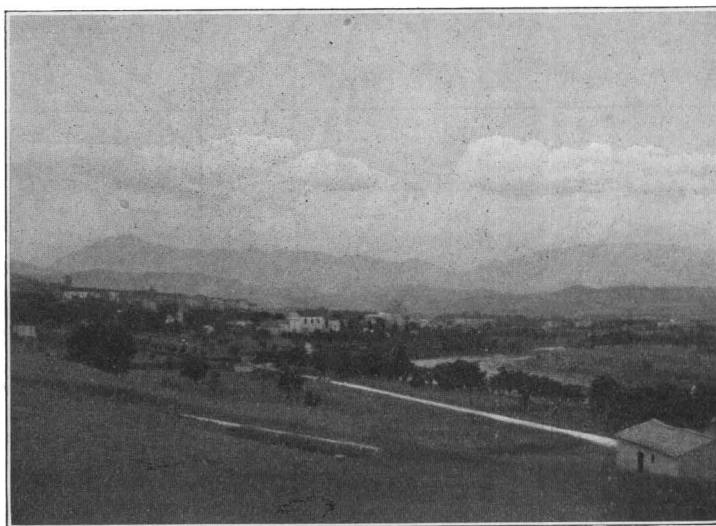


FIG 3.—BENEVENTUM FROM THE HILL KNOWN AS TENUTA LEONE.

After leaving the Arch of Trajan at Beneventum the Via Traiana descended along what is now the modern highroad to the Ponticello. In the vicinity of the Arch the Via Appia of the period after Hadrian would

diverge sharply to the right, while, if the theory of Signor Meomartini is correct, the Via Appia of the Republic crossed the Ponticello along with the road¹ which later became the Via Traiana, but immediately afterwards struck east towards the site of the Masseria Morante,² where pavement was accidentally unearthed about twenty-five years ago. According to Sig. Meomartini,³ the Via Traiana, after crossing the Ponticello, ran first northwards to the modern Campo Santo and then eastwards along the northern slopes of the hill known as Tenuta Leone towards the Calore (Fig. 3). From above the Casino Sanchelli⁴ he would take it parallel with the Calore (Fig. 4) till it reached the modern road directly to the



FIG. 4.—VIEW OF THE CALORE LOOKING WEST.

north of the Masseria La Vipera,⁵ and then straight to the Ponte Valentino where it crosses the Calore. Traces of this road had, we were told, been found on the hillside north of La Vipera together with tombs and inscribed (?) stones and coins. We could see the track in the corn to the north of the modern road ; and, close to the Ponte Valentino, it

¹ Although this road, described by Strabo (*loc. cit.*), is designated by modern writers as the Via Egnazia, there is no classical authority whatever to justify the use of this word.

² Staff Map, 1 : 50,000 ; Benevento, 173, 2.

³ See map attached to Meomartini, *Del cammino della via Appia*, 1907.

⁴ Cf. Staff Map, 1 : 50,000 ; Benevento, 173, 2.

⁵ Cf. Staff Map, 1 : 50,000 ; Benevento, 173, 2.

came into the line of the latter. Here, however, it is important to notice that it is a purely mediaeval road, paved with small stones, and it does not run straight for the Ponte Valentino. It is improbable that the Via Traiana went round the western and northern slopes of the Tenuta Leone;¹ we should rather be inclined to say that it advanced straight over the hill top, approximately as the road runs at present as far as the Casale Leone. Here we saw fragments of columns of white marble granite and limestone, and we were told that they had been found in excavation among the remains of ancient buildings. From the Casale the road would then have descended straight and steeply to the Ponte Valentino² (Fig. 5).

This is certainly of Roman origin; the supporting walls on the left bank both up and downstream and that downstream on the right bank are built of large rough blocks of limestone some 0.75 metres high, with bossed faces, not absolutely rectangular, with the angle of one block sometimes let into the upper surface of the one below. Behind is a second line of blocks, and then earth. These walls are certainly Roman³ work *in situ*; and the pier nearest the south-west bank is also of Roman construction, but the courses are small. The central piers are however of mediaeval stonework and the arches of mediaeval brickwork. It is 6.36 metres wide over all at the top. The parapets are modern and the ancient bridge was about 76 metres long between the two embankment walls, one on each bank. A mediaeval church of S. Valentino,⁴ now utterly destroyed, has bequeathed its name to the bridge.

After the Ponte Valentino (Fig. 5) the track, which no doubt follows the line of the ancient road, advances in a slight ascent along the left bank of the Tammaro. At the confluence of the Tammaro and the Calore (Fig. 6) there is a fine view up the valleys of both rivers. Away to the right across the ploughed land is seen the tiny hamlet of Apice, clinging to its rocky summit; in front are the graceful windings of the Tammaro, flanked by the richly wooded M. Santo on the right with the village of

¹ Cf. Staff Map, 1 : 50,000; Benevento, 173, 2.

² Cf. Staff Map, 1 : 50,000; Benevento, 173, 2.

³ Meomartini, *Monumenti di Benevento*, p. 257, wrongly calls the Ponte Valentino mediaeval and sees no Roman remains in the bridge.

⁴ Meomartini (*op. cit.* and *loc. cit. supra*) quotes 'alia via (clearly the Via Traiana) que vadit ad S. Valentinum' nel diploma del principe Arechi di riconferma delle concessioni precedenti al Monastero di Santa Sofia (di Benevento).

Paduli rising beyond. Our track, still ascending, crosses the ravine just to the west of Paduli and climbs up parallel with the Tammaro until

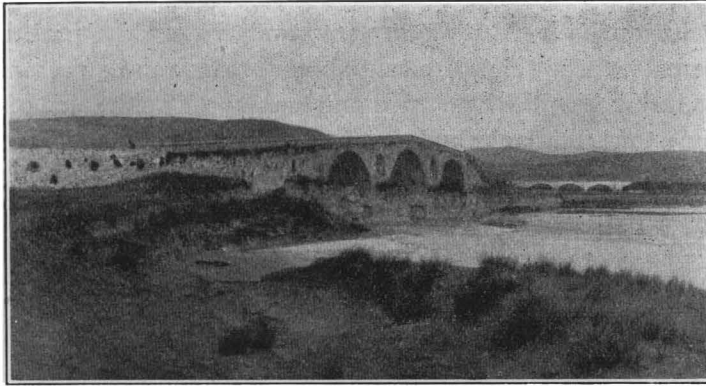


FIG. 5.—PONTE VALENTINO.

it reaches a temporary summit level (281 metres) in the Rne. Creta.¹ Beyond a few scattered paving stones we saw no traces of antiquity. The

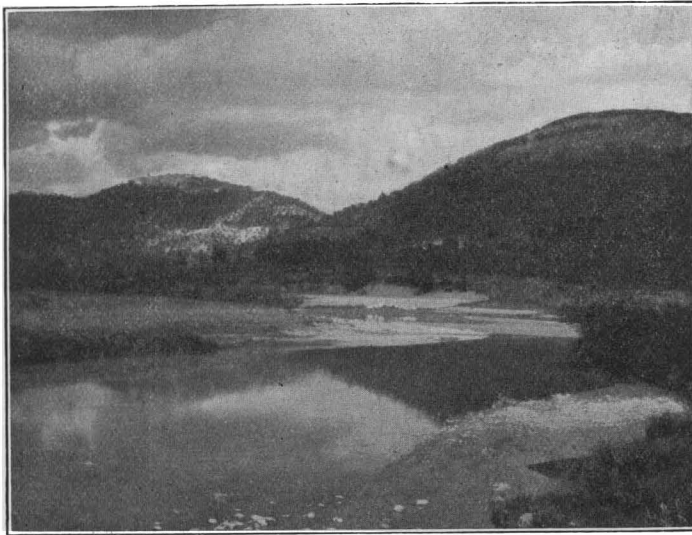


FIG. 6.—PADULI AND THE VALLEY OF THE TAMMARO.

old track is quite plain in the valley which we reach a little further on ; its name, Regione la Strada, clearly betrays its own origin.

¹ Cf. Staff Map, 1 : 50,000 ; S. Giorgio la Molara, 175, 1.

We still continue our ascent, past the modern road which diverges to Paduli on our right, until we reach the Rne. S. Arcangelo,¹ where the track becomes a pleasant lane. Much débris of brickwork is to be seen in the fields on both sides of the lane, and also on the path itself. A draped female statue (Fig. 7), about three feet high in its present state of mutilation, stands in the long grass and brushwood at the side of the lane. It is of limestone, but lacks both head and legs; and probably comes from some tomb, to judge from its style.

Here no doubt we must place the site of Forum Novum, 10 miles distant from Beneventum according to the Itineraries. It is curious



FIG. 7.—DRAPED FEMALE TORSO AT FORUM NOVUM.

that the name Forno nuovo, which is probably a corruption of it, was transferred a mile or two further east close to the near bank of the Tammaro. Topographers² have not been conspicuously successful in locating

¹ Cf. Staff Map, 1 : 50,000. S. Giorgio la Molara, 173, 1, 1909.

² Pratilli, *La via Appia*, Naples, 1745, p. 506, says that between Paduli, Buonalbergo, Castelfranco and Crevacuore traces are seen of an ancient paved road leading to Troia. This is the Via Traiana. But the author erroneously regards it as another road and makes the Via Traiana diverge from the Via Appia at Aeclanum.

Mommsen (*C.I.L.* ix. p. 122) and Nissen (*op. cit.* p. 816) both place Forum Novum at Monte Male. Kiepert's map (*C.I.L.* ix. Tab. ii.) wrongly represents the Via Traiana (printed Via Appia) as passing *south* of Paduli, whereas it really goes north.

this *mutatio*; some have placed it upon S. Arcangelo Trimonte (formerly Monte Male), while the modern region of Forno Nuovo is wrongly regarded by Meomartini¹ as occupying the site of the ancient Forum Novum! A little to the north of the contrada Forno Nuovo an ancient tombstone² was discovered in 1899, but we have no record of any further attempts to excavate in the neighbourhood.



FIG. 8.—CORNIC E BLOCK FROM FORUM NOVUM.

The house just beyond on the right, above the 's' in Rne. S. Arcangelo (Staff Map) contains two inscriptions³ :—

(1) TVNNIA
 LVCINIS
 SIT


¹ *Op cit.* p. 258.

² *Notizie degli Scavi*, 1899, p. 149. The dedication is to one M. Rutilius Macedo from his wife Licinia Marcella. He had been curator at Puteoli and ii. vir at Beneventum. The inscription is probably later than the construction of the Via Traiana. Bones, fragments of bricks and pottery were found in the vicinity.

³ At the Masseria to the north-west is a finely sculptured cornice block with interesting decoration (Fig. 8) and a tombstone of the common 'baulo' type (in shape like a port-manteau, with a semicircular top) bearing the sepulchral inscription *C.I.L.* ix. 1440. At a house further north-west is the notable inscription *C.I.L.* ix. 6005 (Fig. 1) which alone records the construction of the bridges along the Via Traiana. It is built into the wall of the farm-house.

This is on a limestone cippus 0·28 metre long by 0·57 high. The letters are 5 centimetres high ; the lettering is rough and probably bad second-century work. The meaning of the three words is very uncertain. 'Tunnia,' of which we have no other instance, is certainly a gentilicium, while 'Lucinis,' of which there are frequent examples in the form *Lycnis*, may possibly be so as well. 'Sit' must then be intended for 'hic sita est.'

(2) A large block of limestone, broken away at the left-hand lower corner, bears the following inscription :—

A·  MVSS
SO

The stone is 0·59 metre high by 0·76 metre long ; the letters in the top line are 0·175 metre high, in the lower line, 0·095 metre. The letters

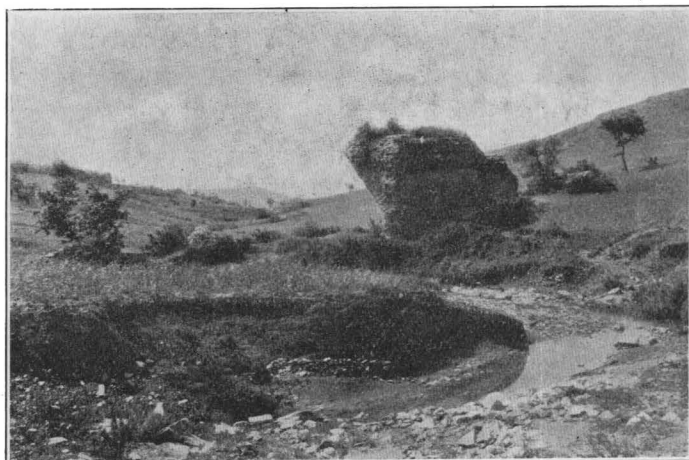


FIG. 9.—PONTE DEI LADRONI.

are of the Republican or early Imperial period, and consequently testify to the presence of somebody there before the construction of the *Via Traiana*. Probably the name *Forum Novum* dates from the construction of the road, not from an earlier period. Though the *Via Traiana* certainly tended to open up and develop the country through which it passed, we must remember that it followed the line of a previously existing road.

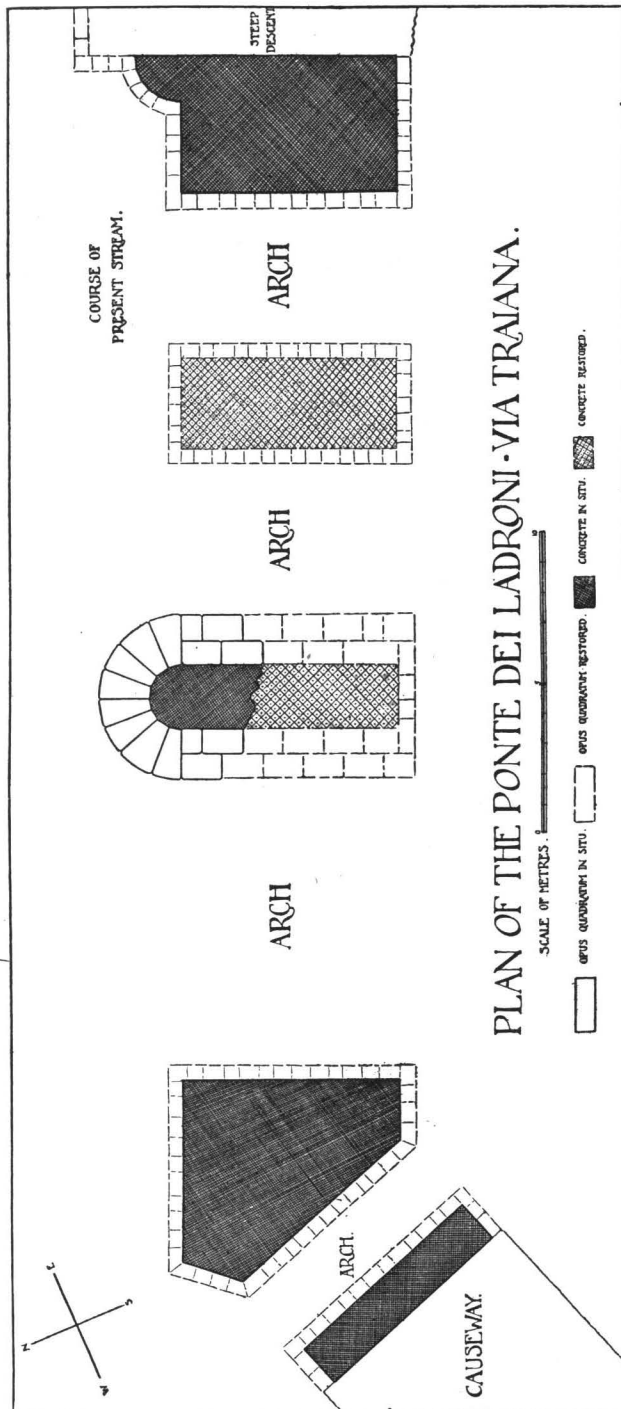


FIG. 10.

As the track advances in an E.N.E. direction, we cross a small stream in the bed of which paving stones are lying loose. The summit level is then reached and the old road begins to descend, N.E. by E., to the stream just beyond the Casa Abbazia, on both banks of which are slight concrete remains of an ancient culvert. In the valley beyond the next ridge, into which the causeway, some ten metres wide, is clearly marked in its descent (there are paving stones here and there), are the remains of the Ponte dei Ladroni (Fig. 9). Before reaching the bridge, the road turned sharply to the north-east; the causeway by which it approached the bridge would be some forty metres long and ten metres wide. The first pier, 1.5 metre thick, is high enough to make it possible that another arch originally stood in front of it. The span of the first arch of which we can be certain is three metres (exclusive of facing), and then comes a massive pier at another sharp turn, the direction of the road changing to E.S.E. The width of the pier is 7.1 metres, but the brick and *opus quadratum* facing was gone; by analogy with the other bridges of the Via Traiana of which we have remains, the total width must be not more than eight metres. The main part of the bridge is now reached. It seems to have consisted of two main arches, with spans of ten and fourteen metres respectively; but possibly there may have also been a third arch. The intermediate pier is 3.45 metres thick, and the pointed end upstream is preserved. The construction is of concrete faced with *opus quadratum* below and brickwork above; the *opus quadratum* blocks are of limestone, 0.65 metre in thickness, and the blocks were held together by metal clamps, at any rate in the pier in the stream (see Plan, Fig. 10). The ascent from the Vallone della Ferrara, which was crossed by the Ponte dei Ladroni, is extremely steep. At the top of the hill are some loose bricks, belonging to some building, but no paving stones. From this a precipitous descent leads to a smaller but deeper valley, the Valle delle Cesine, in which are to be seen the scanty remains of a bridge known as the Ponte S. Marco¹ (Fig. 11). There is a mass of concrete on the right bank of the stream, and two blocks of *opus quadratum* and a little concrete on the left; and, in the field above the stream on this side, a small portion of the causeway. The direction in crossing the stream was E.S.E., but the embankment

¹ The Ponte S. Marco dir(uto) is marked on the Staff Map (1:50,000; Montecalvo Irpino, 174, 4), but the position given to it is quite a kilometre too far downstream.

is a little to the north ; so there must have been a slight skew in crossing and a right angle turn just after the bridge.

Then followed a series of very steep ascents, each ridge to be encountered being higher than the last. The whole of this stretch from Forum Novum is extremely difficult, and, though it is hard to see why Trajan's engineers selected this course, the road does not shirk obstacles, and attacks hill and vale alike with surprising directness. Nor, though cuttings would have been made through loose soil, are there traces of them. Probably it would be difficult to construct embankments. At the top of the ridge



FIG. II.—SITE OF THE PONTE S. MARCO.

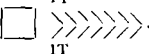
is a small square white house with two or three cypresses by it, which may serve as a mark for anyone desirous of finding the bridge again. The ascent brings us up to a level cultivated region known as *La Starza* (the 'jay,' a not uncommon local name hereabouts), and a house there is full of paving stones from the road, which kept a little to the south of the modern path, going E. and W., but has now been destroyed. After crossing this level, there is a precipitous descent N.E., at the bottom of which is a little pavement of white limestone blocks. On the way down, a charming view presents itself to the traveller. On the right,

across the valley of the Miscano, rises a steep escarpment, with the village of Montecalvo Irpino upon its highest point. Below lies a richly wooded valley, shaded with poplars, a cultivated slope rising beyond. To the left, just appearing through the trees, is the village of Buonalbergo, in surroundings no less beautiful than its rival upon the crags opposite.

The Torrente di Buonalbergo rushes down the valley into which we now descend, and which we cross by the Ponte delle Chianche¹ (Figs. 12, 13). The bridge is situated just at the junction of two streams, and it would be hard to imagine a more delightful situation for this imposing ruin. The bridge had six arches; the base of the central pier is in *opus quadratum* of limestone, and the blocks were held together by rectangular metal clamps. The whole of the rest of the bridge is in brick-faced concrete. The brickwork is excellent, being a fine specimen of brickwork of the time of Trajan, as it invariably is in the bridges of this road. The arches have double rings of two-foot tiles (*bipediales*), and the intrados of the arches is tiled also. The central arch has lost the inner one of its rings (as Meomartini explains, they have been removed by peasants to bake bread upon), but is otherwise complete. The next two on the right bank are well preserved, and then there is the beginning of a third, after which comes the bridge head with two buttresses. On the left bank there are two arches which are less well preserved and have been patched up, and then an embankment which continues for some forty metres. The embankment wall is 0.90 metre thick, and on the south side there are also five or six brick buttresses 2.99 metres apart, 1.49 metre high, and 1.20 metre thick. The pavement is preserved on the top of the bridge, which is 7.20 metres wide (24 Roman feet), and apparently there were no parapets at all. There is a considerable rise in the centre of the bridge; the length of the bridge over all is about 120 metres.²

¹ Cf. Meomartini, *I monumenti di Benevento*, p. 303.

² Here was found *C.I.L.* ix. 6010 (misprinted 6011) referring to extensive repairs of the Via Traiana carried out by Septimius Severus and Caracalla in 210 A.D. On a tile of the Ponte delle Chianche there was seen the inscription *PO N V T R A* (*C.I.L.* ix. 6011, 6078, 2).

One of the tiles still *in situ* bears the stamp . The tiles are 0.045 to 0.05

metre thick. A *tegula mammata* (with the *mammæ* knocked off) is seen on one place. The discovery of the inscription and of the tile are due to Dressel. Mommsen conjectures that the meaning is *pont(es) v(iae) Tra(ianae)*. Cf. *C.I.L.* xv. p. 6, under vii.

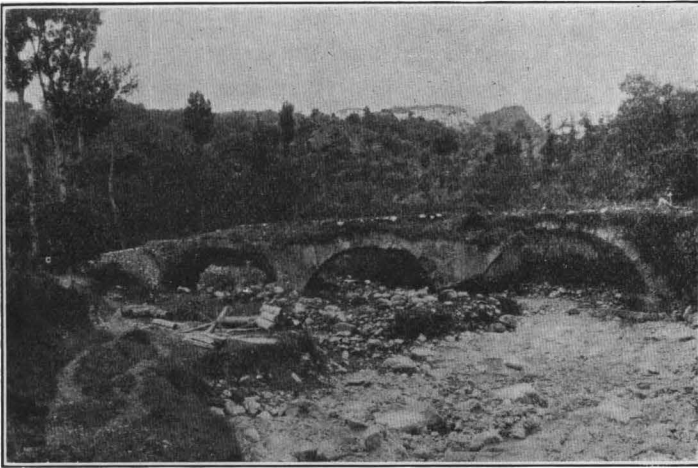


FIG. 12. - PONTE DELLE CHIANCHE.

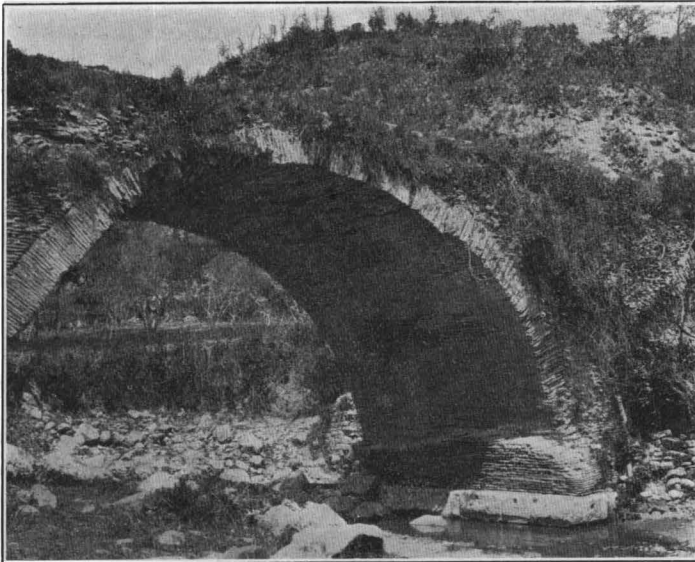


FIG. 13.—ARCH OF THE PONTE DELLE CHIANCHE.
(From a photograph by Dr. Esther van Deman.)

Going east, the pavement is soon lost, though at first it can be traced in a small path. The road must have kept about E.N.E. along the slopes between Buonalbergo and the railway. The soil is earthy, the streams were mere rivulets, and there were no traces of bridges or pavement to be seen or heard of for the next three miles, until shortly after crossing the modern road from Montecalvo Station to the village of Casalbere a small gorge is reached, (about 300 metres south of the letter 't' in *Murgia dell' Arciprete* of the Staff Map).

Here are further brick and concrete masses from a small, much-ruined bridge; one brick face *in situ* runs N. by E., and may give the direction of the bridge, which would have run at right angles to it, *i.e.*, E. by S. About 200 metres farther east we reach the main stream, the *Torrente¹ della Ginestra* in the Regione di S. Spirito. Here is another bridge mentioned by Meomartini² and visible from the railway. It is known as the Ponte di S. Spirito (Fig. 14). The bridge must have been a large one, but comparatively little of it is preserved. It runs E. by N. Nothing is left on the right bank of the stream; in the stream itself is a mass of concrete (not *in situ*), and on the left bank there is a pier of concrete 4.2 metres thick, the base of which is faced with large *opus quadratum*³ one metre thick and the upper part with brickwork. The arches have a double ring of tiles and the intrados is tiled also, as in the Ponte delle Chianche. There are bonding courses in the pier. The base of the bridge is 6.8 metres wide; the brickwork overhangs 0.2 metre more on the north side. There are also some walls on the south side of the pier, partly in *opus quadratum* of contemporary construction, and partly in later brickwork, intended for the regulation of the stream. It looks as though this passed over a bed of *opus quadratum* blocks seven metres wide. The reason of these walls is that the bridge is placed just above the junction of the Torrente degli Schiavoni with the main stream, the Miscano (here for a short distance called the Torrente Gesso) which might have given trouble.

To the north of the east end of the bridge is a concrete well about six metres long and one thick running N.N.E.; it is probably Roman, but, further on, on the same side is a modern ruin. The road now ascended,

¹ Cf. Staff Map, 1 : 50,000; Montecalvo Irpino, 174, 4.

² *I Monumenti di Benevento*, p. 303.

³ The courses are well over two Roman feet high (0.62, 0.68, 0.71 m. respectively), a fact which also points to the period of Trajan. No traces indeed of earlier construction have been found by us along the course of the road.

following the course of the tratturo towards the Masseria Pelusa; it probably passed just north of it and ran more or less straight across the small valleys which the tratturo avoids and near the Masseria Franco. The Map of the Touring Club Italiano (Benevento Sheet) marks a bridge, the Ponte del Diavolo, over the next large stream, the Miscano itself; but it is not indicated on the Staff Map, and notwithstanding a careful search we were unable to find it, so that it seems to be non-existent. How and where the Via Traiana did cross is uncertain; probably to the south

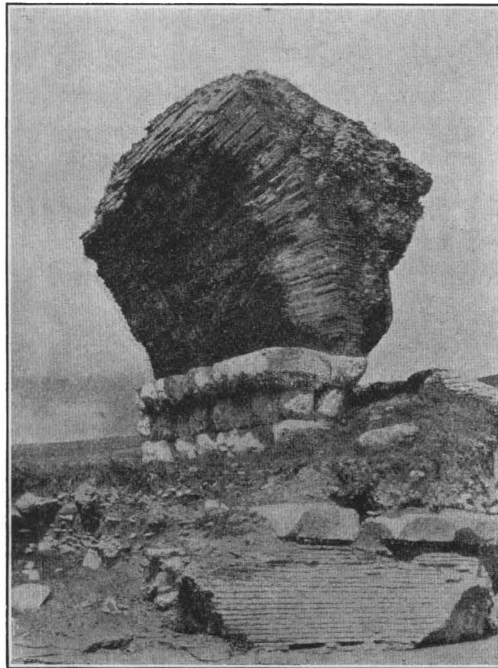


FIG. 14.—PONTE S. SPIRITO.

of the Cave di S. Eleuterio, some abandoned quarries, by a small valley which ascends here to the higher ground. To the north of the quarries is the Masseria di S. Eleuterio, in the midst of undulating plough land and pasture, looking down upon the beautiful valley between Casalboro, Buonalbergo and Montecalvo Irpino. To the north of the farmhouse are some scattered tiles in a field and two large blocks of limestone, one with a plinth moulding. Perhaps both were parts of a large base; one was said to bear an inscription, but this was probably an error. Here the road (known locally as the Strada Nuova del Diavolo!) is said to have passed

and here we must place the site of Aequeum Tuticum, the second station 20 miles from Beneventum.

It is said¹ to have been a foundation of Diomedes, while its name carries us back to an Oscan past. Of its history we know next to nothing. It very probably came into the possession of the Romans early in the third century B.C. It had no urban constitution and was merely a *vicus*² under the neighbouring and powerful Beneventum. Such importance as it possessed was due to its position as a road centre.³

There the Via Traiana was joined by the Via Herculia from Lucania and Venusia, while it is supposed that another road led northwards from it to Luceria and the Adriatic and that Aeclanum on the Via Appia was joined to Aequeum Tuticum by the Via Aurelia Aeclanensis.⁴ Very great difficulties are attendant upon its location. The Itineraries alone and Cicero (*ad Att.* vi. 1, 1) mention it as a road-station. Cluver put it at Ariano di Puglia; Holste at Troia. Pratilli located it at *Terra Strutta*⁵ near the wood of Crevacuore, some distance to the north-east of its real site. D'Anville,⁶ more correctly, placed it at Castelfranco in Miscano, a few kilometres to the north. In 1794 Tommaso Vitale,⁷ following the distances given by the ancient Itineraries, located Aequeum Tuticum at S. Eleuterio, as Mommsen says, 'quinto fere lapide ab Ariano septemtrionem versus, quinto item a Casalbore eunti ad pagum Greci.' This identification has been accepted by all later authorities. The words 'Aequeum Tuticum' are probably the Latinised forms of an Oscan place-name 'aipum tuviticum,' or 'lofty rock,' which was brought down from the mountains of central Italy by the Hirpini when they migrated to the site of the later Beneventum. With regard to the origin of the name S. Eleuterio⁸ it is held that in the time of Diocletian the bishop of Aequeum Tuticum was martyred 'apud Miscanum'—the Torrente Miscano, which

¹ Mommsen, *C.I.L.* ix. p. 122; Hülsen in *Pauly-Wissowa 'R. E.'* i. 605, and Supplement and Nissen, *op. cit.* ii. p. 816 give all available information concerning it.

² *C.I.L.* ix. 1418, 1419.

³ Mommsen says (*C.I.L.* ix. p. 592), 'licet omni tempore vici exigui condicionem non egressum rei viariae Italiae inferioris tanquam cardo fuit, quadrivium scilicet viarum primariarum, alterius hinc Roman ducentis per Appiam, inde Brundisium per Traianam, alterius autem hinc pergentis Luceriam et ad mare superum, inde Venusiam et ad fretum Siculum.'

⁴ Grasso, *Studi*, vol. i. p. 39-57. It rather joined Aeclanum and Herdoniae.

⁵ Pratilli, *op. cit.* p. 515. Cf. Staff Map, 1:50,000; Bovino, 174, 1. N.W. corner.

⁶ *Analyse géographique de l'Italie*. Paris 1744, p. 218.

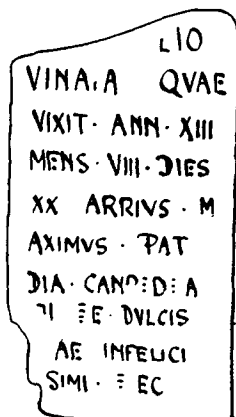
⁷ *Storia della regia città di Ariano*. Rome, 1794, p. 5.

⁸ Grasso, *Studi*, vol. i. pp. 79-147.

now flows south of the Masseria S. Eleuterio—and canonized as S. Eleuterio or S. Liberatore. A chapel was erected to his memory at Aequum Tuticum, which name was subsequently changed to S. Eleuterio. Ariano di Puglia, once regarded as the site of Aequum Tuticum, is of mediaeval origin, and, as many of the inscriptions of Aequum Tuticum were found at Ariano, it is perhaps not too much to say that the rising Ariano was enriched from its fallen neighbour.

There are said to be ruins here under the corn, but as we passed by in the late spring the thick growth prevented us from seeing them. At the Masseria S. Eleuterio we saw three inscriptions. The first was *C.I.L.* ix. 1429 (of the time of Hadrian), but the remaining two appear to be unpublished. Both are sepulchral and belong to tombstones of the usual 'baulo' type.

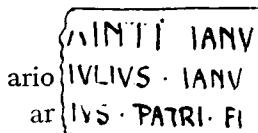
The first is :—



The first Π is B, D, or R; the second D may be an E. The mother's name is somewhere in this.

Dimensions of whole :—0·56 by 0·59 metre; of inscribed surface—0·45 \times 0·315 metre. Height of letters, 0·03 metre.

The second bore the inscription :—



Dimensions : 0·17 \times 0·28 metre. Height of letters, 0·04 metre.

Both these inscriptions seem later than the construction of the Via Traiana.

From S. Eleuterio the road went on, no doubt, in a north-easterly¹ direction, but cultivation prevented our following it more closely; doubtless there are no traces of it to be seen. It probably coincided with the line of the *tratturo* from the Taverna Tre Fontane northwards and thence, ascending considerably, ran almost due north. There is a short cut avoiding the modern road from the Tre Sportelli (the boundary of the three provinces of Benevento, Campobasso, and Foggia) to the contrada S. Vito. From this point a track runs E.N.E. with mediaeval paving about ten metres wide to the Masseria S. Vito.²

At the Masseria we recopied an inscription,³ embedded in the wall of the chapel to the right of the fountain:—

Imp. Caes. M. Aur. Antonino
 Pio. Fel. Aug. Parth. Max. Brit.
 Max. PONTIFICI MAX
 tr P XVI IMP · II · COS · IIII (A.D. 213)
 PROCOS PATRI PATRIAe
 M AVRELIVS NIGRINVS · e
 VOCATVS AVG N IMPOSitus
 ORDINIBVS IN LEG II TRA de
 VOTVS NVMINI EIVS EVNdem
 LVCVM AQVILONENSEM INco
 LVIT ET CONSACRAVIT · III · IDVS DEC
 AVRELIO ANTONINO PIO FELICI AVG IIII COS

It confirms Grasso and Kiepert (*C.I.L.* ix. Tab. ii.) in their identification of the ancient river Aquilo with the modern Celone, which rises in the Bosco Vetrosello west of Celle S. Vito and flows in a north-easterly

¹ Meomartini (*I monumenti e le opere d'arte di Benevento*, 1889, p. 261) takes the road too much to the west after leaving Aequum Tuticum and so loses what is certainly the exact course. It may have passed, according to him, through Vescellium to the west of Castelfranco in Miscano, between this and Rosetto, where there is now the Bosco Vetrosello. He thinks that the *Itin. Anton.* confused Vescellium with the Mutatio Aquilonis. Nissen (*Ital. Land.* ii. p. 843) takes the road from Aequum Tuticum to Mutatio Aquilonis (near Cappella S. Vito) without fixing any intermediate points.

² The Masseria S. Vito is 971 metres above the sea, the highest point of the Via Traiana. Just before reaching it a narrow defile is passed from which magnificent and comprehensive views are obtained both ways. To the N.E. the mountains slope down to the Apulian plain, with Garganus looming on the sky line, to the S.W. and S.E. a fine panorama of mountain and valley is seen from M. Vulture to M. Taburno.

³ G. de Petra, *Rendiconti del R. Accademia di Napoli*, xii. (1898) p. 111 seq.; cf. Grasso, vol. iii. p. 9, note 3. Hülsen in *Pauly-Wissowa*, 'R. E.' Supplementum to article 'Aquilonis mutatio,' p. 114. An inscription of 1504 over the fountain speaks of it as the Fons Aquilonensis, so that the inscription was then already known.

direction past Troia, till it meets the Candelaro which empties into the Lago Salso south of Manfredonia.

The localisation of the *mutatio Aquilonis* has been complicated by the existence of two other places called *Aquilonia* with which the *mutatio Aquilonis* has very naturally been confused. Mommsen¹ was induced to admit the existence of a third *Aquilonia*, different from that in Samnium and from that in the territory of the Hirpini, but his idea of an

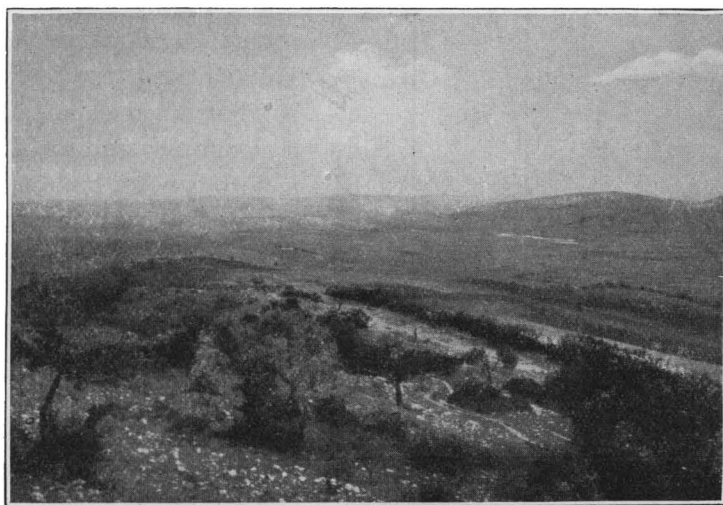


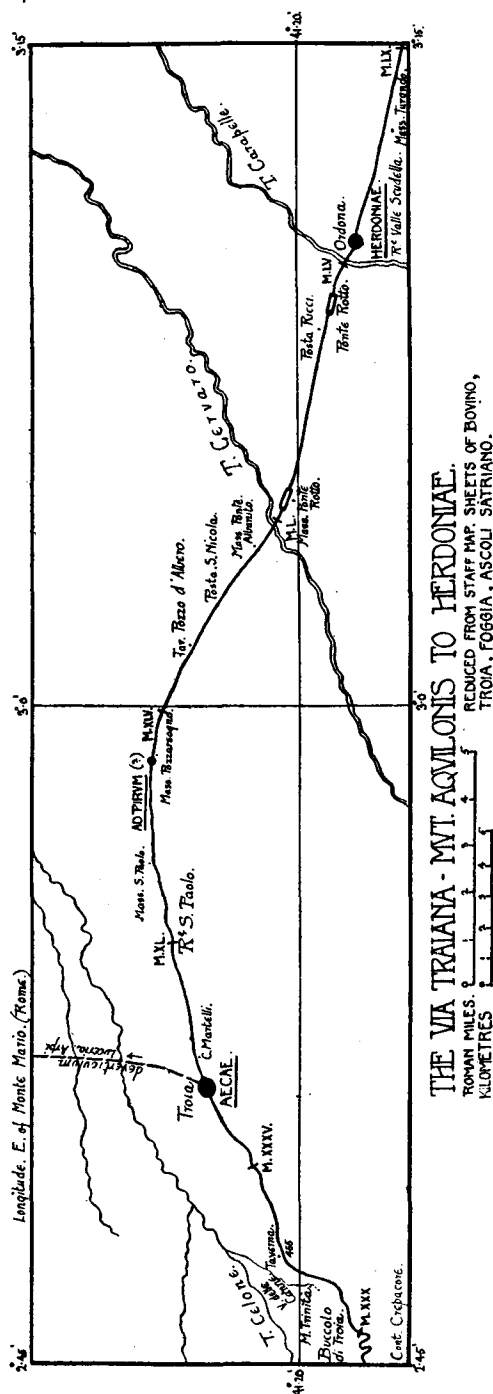
FIG. 15.—VIEW N.E. FROM THE BUCCOLO DI TROIA.

'*Aquiloniae*' or '*Aquilonae*' on the Via Traiana between Aequum Tuticum and Aecae was due to confusion.

The expression *mutatio Aquilonis*² must mean 'the post station near

¹ *C.I.L.* ix. p. 87, *mutatio Aquilonis* . . . diversa ab *Aquilonia* hodie Lacedogna sub Vibino fuerit necesse est.

² Cluver does not mention the *mutatio Aquilonis* at all. Pratilli (*op. cit.* p. 503) jumps from Samnium to the Hirpini and from the Hirpini to Apulia. He entirely confuses the *Aquilonia* in Samnium, the *Aquilonia* in Hirpinis, and the *mutatio Aquilonis*. Corcia (*Storia delle due Sicilie*, Napoli, vol. ii. p. 531) would place the *mutatio Aquilonis* at the Buccolo di Troia and regard *Aquilonis* as coming from *aquilo*, the north wind. He writes, 'ove a forza di scalpello si vede aperto il monte per tracciarvi la strada e così gagliardi vi spirano i venti nella stagione invernale, che bene spesso atterrati vi rimanevano i viandanti coi carichi e le vetture, circostanza la quale ci spiega la ragione onde fu così detta dagli antichi.' Wesseling, too (*Ancient Itineraries*, p. 610), says, 'diceret ab Aquilone vento mutationi nomen haerere, nisi Apuliae proprii nominis ventus Atabulus infestior fuisset.' No ancient author speaks of the *Aquilo*, but there is a mediaeval document, published first by Ughelli (*It. sacra*, vol. i. epis. Troia) and then by Vitale (*Storia di Ariano*, Rome, 1794, doc. in Appendix) in which mention is made of this *Aquilo* in connexion with the boundaries of the territory of Troia. '. . . et rediens ad sinistram usque ad fluvium *Aquilonis* descendit usque ad transitum Colonnelli.'



the Aquilo' and can have no possible connexion with an ancient city of that or similar name.

The abundant fountain at S. Vito is almost the last that is met with along the whole course of the road, as we now enter the arid region of Apulia.¹ There are no traces of ancient buildings visible, nor could we hear of any; and the Chapel of S. Vito is not a building of any interest. About one kilometre, however, to the E.N.E., near point 920² there are some bricks lying loose by the road. The country is at first cultivated and easy; there is then a gradual descent down a ridge. There is here mediaeval paving about eight metres wide. We then reach the steep zigzag descent of the Buccolo di Troia³ (Fig. 15). It presents no traces of ancient pavement or construction (the supporting walls are all modern), nor of the cuttings in the rock of which Nissen speaks.

¹ Horace *Epodes*, iii. 16, *siticulosae* Apuliae.

² Cf. Staff Map, 1 : 50,000; Ariano di Puglia, 174, 3.

³ Nissen, *Ital. Land.* ii. p. 843. The road crosses the Buccolo di Troia (905 metres) gradually by cuts in the rocks for three miles. On the Apulian side it drops 300 metres sharply in three turns.

(*Storia delle due Sicilie*, ii. p. 531.)

After the zigzags there is a straight descent N.E. by E. through a slight cutting in soft rock, never over three or four metres deep, in which the paving is perhaps mediaeval but well preserved. We may, however, compare the road from Abbasanta to Fordungianus in Sardinia, which is considered to be Roman. It is about eight metres wide, and has a central rib to keep the cobbles in position. The Monte Trinità (588 metres) is passed slightly on the left-hand side. The road then reached a spur which it traversed in a N. direction, and left it by another spur in a N.E. direction. It then went round almost at right angles to avoid the Valle delle Canne, descending to the Celone. Before the Taverna (above point 455, Staff Map, 1 : 50,000; Troia, 163, 2) is reached another good piece of similar paving is seen; the causeway is about fourteen metres wide, and the road itself about eight metres. There was a bed of small stones, with a maximum dimension of about 0.32 metre, and cobbling above this on which earth no doubt lay. As we near Troia, there is a fairly steep ascent to the south-east corner of the town, and there the cobbling is only about four metres wide. The position is very strong, as the hill is quite steep and isolated.

Troia¹ (the ancient Aecae) is a comparatively old city, and is first mentioned in connexion with the manoeuvres of Fabius Maximus in the second Punic War. In the time of Septimius Severus its full title was *Colonia Augusta Apula Aecae* (C.I.L. ix. 950), and it belonged to the Tribus Papiria. It was linked with Luceria and Sipontum by a *deverticulum*² from the Via Traiana, which would perhaps be the original road establishing military communications between Beneventum and

¹ For its history see Hülsen, Pauly-Wissowa, 'R.E.' vol. i. 443. Mommsen, C.I.L. ix. p. 85. Excavations at Troia are described in *Not. d. Scavi*, 1903, p. 349. Cluver (*Ital. Antiq.* p. 1202) wrongly identified it with Accadia, a mountain village just to the north of S. Agata di Puglia, west of Candela. Holste (*ad Cluver.*, p. 271) corrects him by reference to Cuniferius, a monk of M. Casino, in his life of S. Secundinus, as follows: 'Haec vero civitas, si nominis significationem advertimus, Ecana enim dicta est, antiquissima fuit, cum monumentorum marmoratio, scenarum columnatio, eminentia culminum id designent. Huic vero in reconciliatione Troia nomen imponitur, ut egregii titulus nominis auctoramentum faciat novitati. Putamus ista fidem posse quaerentibus facere, quos sub Troiae nomine appellatio noverit Urbis Ecanae.'

Pratilli (*op. cit.* p. 515 *et seq.*), who describes the course of the Via Traiana in these parts with surprising accuracy—though he does not call it by the name of the Via Traiana—rightly identifies Aecae with Troia. According to him it was only after the eleventh century that Troia was built upon the present site.

² C.I.L. ix. p. 26. The *Tab. Peut.* gives Aecas-Pretorium Lauerianum Mucerie Apulie (*appingitur domus*)—viii—Arpos—xxi—Siponto.

Luceria. In the hospital at Troia there is to be seen a milestone of the Via Traiana (*C.I.L.* ix. 6015); according to Mommsen it bore no number, but it is surely possible to see a large I, which was only a part of the number—probably xxxvii.

From Troia the road gradually descended the ridge; at first the modern road coincides with it, but afterwards its line is marked by a track. Just before reaching the C. Martelli,¹ the track diverges to the right from the new highroad from Troia to Foggia. As this track advances across the Rne. S. Paolo, there is a gentle undulation, and then it passes over a col, between the Masseria S. Paolo and the Masseria Pozzarsogno (near the latter we must place the station of Ad Pirum), until it descends to meet, at the Taverna Pozzo d'Albero, the highroad

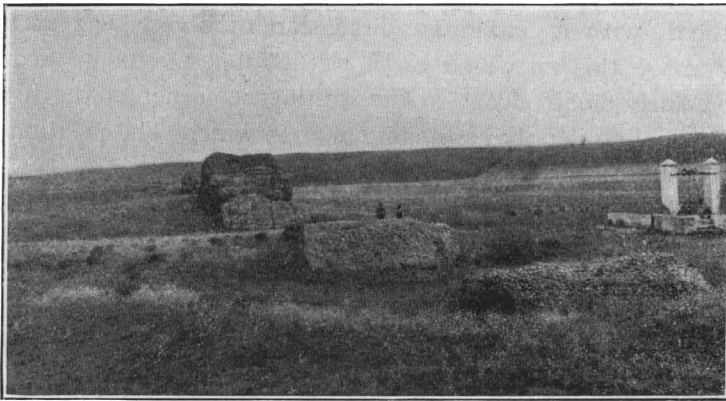


FIG. 16.—PONTE ROTTO, CERVARO.

from Foggia to Ariano di Puglia, which it crosses at right angles at the seventy-ninth mile. The ruins by the highroad to the N.W. are purely modern. The road goes straight on again past the Porta S. Nicola, to the east of which we saw scattered bricks on the road line. The cobbling is to be seen at intervals, and the width is about eight metres. The road descended with a zigzag just S.W. of the Masseria Ponte Albanito by a small, narrow gully to the broad, flat valley of the Cervaro. The river has changed its course about one kilometre to the west of what it was in Roman days, and can be crossed by wading in a dry spring without difficulty. Very considerable remains of the Roman bridge exist, just

¹ Staff Map, 1 : 50,000 ; Troia, 163, 2.

to the north of the Masseria Ponte Rotto.¹ From the ruins (Figs. 16, 17, and 18), it is clear that it was a structure of more than ordinary size



FIG. 17.—PONTE ROTTO, CERVARO.

and grandeur (see Fig. 19). We must thank Mr. F. C. Richards for this drawing.

It runs E.S.E., and is 320 paces long. It consisted of (i) a causeway

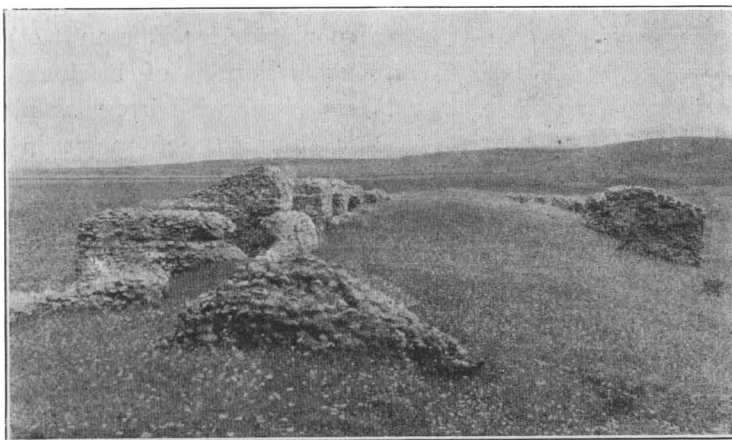


FIG. 18.—CAUSEWAY OF PONTE ROTTO, CERVARO.

some 26 paces long; (ii) the bridge proper, which seems to have been about 180 paces in length and of considerable height: about thirteen.

¹ Staff Map, 1 : 50,000; Foggia, 164, 3. Pratilli, *op. cit.* p. 517, is singularly correct in his description of the road here.

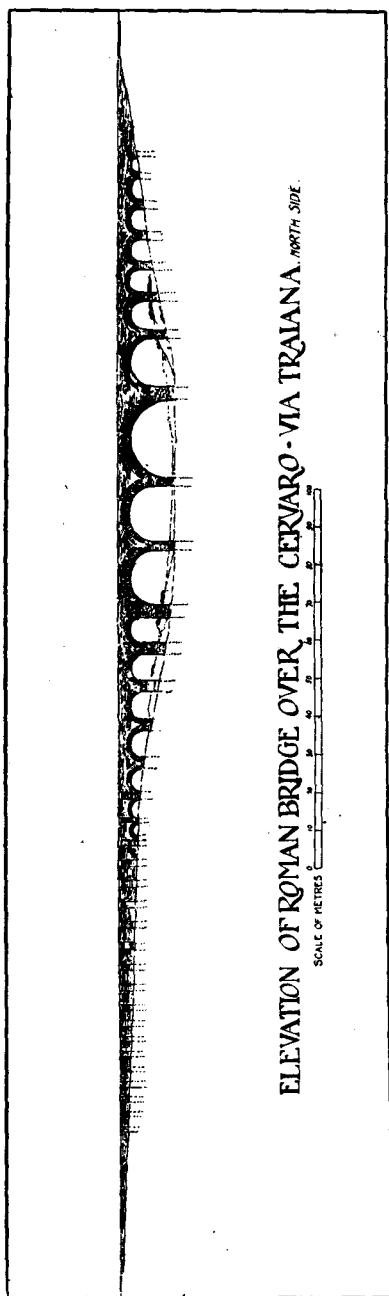


FIG. 19.

piers can be traced, but there were probably more. The main piers seem to have been about three metres thick, and the main arch spans perhaps as much as fifteen metres, though as a rule the span was much less than this; (iii) a causeway at the E.S.E. end, supported by seventeen pairs of buttresses (Fig. 18): these are as a rule 2.70 metres apart, though in some cases the interval is nearly four metres; they project 2.80 metres (the top is sloped off), and they are 1.35 to 1.65 metre in width. The causeway is confined by the wall against which the buttresses rest: this wall is 0.75 metre in thickness and faced with *opus incertum* on the inside. The width of the causeway, as of the bridge itself, is 7.10 metres (24 Roman feet). The construction is of brickfaced concrete faced with irregular pieces of brick 0.21 to 0.26 metre in length and 0.04 in thickness. The horizontal joints are 0.01 metre thick and the vertical joints 0.005. The former course of the river can be clearly seen: it is indeed marked by the track which leads W.N.W. from the Masseria.

The road ascended from the Cervaro valley in an E.S.E. direction, probably winding to gain the ascent to the hill (some twenty metres higher). It then passed over a broad level down, partly cultivated,

upon which no traces of it are to be seen, and, falling gradually in level, descended again immediately to the south of the Porta Ricci.¹ To the E.S.E., again, is another bridge also called Ponte Rotto, and giving its name to a small stream (the Canale di Ponte Rotto) on the map, though it has itself not been marked on the map at all.

It is of precisely similar construction, character, and width to the last bridge ; and here, too, the river, the Carapelle, has changed its course and now runs about one kilometre further east. The total length is considerably greater, nearly 450 metres ; and there must have been another 200 or 300 metres of low embankment at the W.N.W. end,



FIG. 20.—BUTTESS OF CARAPELLE VIADUCT, ORTONA.

now concealed in the corn. There were about ten arches and piers, occupying a length of about 200 metres ; and at the east end there are some 250 metres of embankment : the wall is about 0.90 metre thick, and the buttresses (Fig. 20) were about 1.75 metre in width, projecting 2.28 metres, and at intervals of three to four metres, with their tops sloped off, precisely like the last bridge. The brickwork in them is good : the bricks are irregular fragments, dull red, about 0.25 metre long (we found one triangular piece loose 0.26 m. long). They are well laid. The vertical joints are 0.005 metre wide.

¹ Cf. Staff Map, 1 : 50,000 ; Ascoli Satriano, 175, 4.

The external part of the brick-facing has been removed in the central portion of the bridge: here the concrete core contains river pebbles: the bricks are 0·04 to 0·045 metre in thickness, and are mostly whole *bipedales* (Fig. 21). Bonding courses are found. The mortar courses (in the interior) are 0·034 metre thick. The mortar is good and pinkish in colour. The only pier that is standing in the central part of the bridge is about six metres high and four metres thick.

These two bridges, together with the Ponte delle Chianche below Buonalbergo and the viaduct at Apani, ten kilometres north-west of Brindisi, constitute the finest ruins along the Via Traiana, and, further-



FIG. 21.—BRICKWORK OF CARAPELLE VIADUCT, ORDONA.

more, provide (as they are dated monuments early in the second century) invaluable data for the study of the peculiarities of building construction under Trajan.

On the west bank of the present river Carapelle is a brick building—the chamber of a fountain—which is certainly modern. There is also a modern ruin on the east bank. Both of these lie a little to the S. of the line of the road. We now reach the railway from Foggia to Rocchetta S. Antonio, which skirts the line of hills on the E. side of the Carapelle valley; they rise more abruptly than those on the west and,

immediately above the railway station of Ordona, to the south of the modern bridge, are the ruins of the ancient Herdoniae.

It is difficult to see how we are to interpret the *Tab. Peut.* in its description of the Via Traiana from Beneventum to Canusium. From Beneventum a line crosses a range of hills in a N.W. direction and, after meeting an arc at *Foro novo*, continues to *Aequo tutico* and to two towers, above which is written *Aecas* and below *Hercul' Rani*. The distances read: *Benevento* to *Foro novo* x miles; *Foro Novo* to *Aequo Tutico* xii miles; *Aequo Tutico* to *Aecas* xviii miles. This line proceeds straight on to *Nucerie Apulie* (Luceria) and *Arpos*. The portion which deals with the Via Traiana stops at *Aecas*. There is clearly a *bivium*, but none is indicated, and the course taken by the Via Traiana after Aecae is represented by an arc cut at *Foro novo* by the line from Beneventum. This arc stops at two towers, beneath which is written xii (or xv, as Mommsen reads); then comes a series of steps along which we see *Furfane*—xviii—*Erdonia*—xii—*ad pirum*. Round and above this section runs the upper course of the Aufidus. There is no mention whatever of Canusium and the road is continued across the Aufidus (though there is no connection by line) as *Rudas*—xii—*Rubos*—xiii—*Butontos*, etc.

The problems are to decide the meaning of the towers and to say whether *Furfane* or *ad pirum* is to be placed between *Erdonia* and *Aecae*. Mommsen¹ (*C.I.L.* ix. p. 26) reconstructs as follows: *Foro novo*—xii—*Aequo tutico*—xviii—*AECAS*—*ad pirum*—xii—*Erdonia*—xviii—*Furfane*—xv—*turres duae*.

The question has been discussed by Grasso.² He regards *Furfane* as a corruption of *super Dauni* (*flumen*), that is a road station above the Carapelle, considered by him to be the *pauper aquae Daunus* of Horace. But as the Via Traiana crosses the Carapelle only a mile and a half before reaching Herdoniae, there seems no point whatever in putting a station at the crossing of that river, when Herdoniae was so near. Furthermore the philological difficulties involved in identifying *Furfane* with *super Dauni* are considerable. The station *ad pirum* (xii miles

¹ *C.I.L.* ix. p. 64. He regards *Furfane* as being in the neighbourhood of the modern Cerignola. *C.I.L.* ix. p. 26. He thinks that the *turres duae* represent Canusium (oppidum, ad quod pinguntur turres nomine omisso, Canusium esse recte intellexerunt viri docti (*Mannert*, ix. 2, 74); sed num recte ita ordinaverim ut supra factum est fecitque similiter Desiardinius, p. 212, parum constat).

² *Studi*, vol. ii, pp. 37-41; 49-56.

from Herdoniae) he identifies with the *mut. undecimum*, which the *Itin. Hieros.* places between Herdoniae and Canusium. Finally, he inverts Mommsen's reconstruction and thinks that the compiler of the *Tab. Peut.* has been compelled by want of space to omit Canusium. Perhaps it is easier to admit that the two *duae turres nomine omisso* are to be interpreted as Canusium. Consequently *ad pirum* is to be sought somewhere between Aecae and Herdoniae—possibly seven miles from Aecae, as the total distance from Aecae to Herdonia is 19 miles and *ad pirum* is 12 miles away from Herdoniae. So the mysterious *Furfane* must be placed between Herdoniae and Canusium, though it is hard to identify it with any modern site and the distance between Herdoniae and Canusium thus becomes (18+15) 33 miles, instead of the actual 27. The *Itin. Hieros.*, too, which records the intermediate *mutationes* more completely than the other Itineraries, does not mention any station between Aecae and Herdoniae, although it records a *mut. ad undecimum* between Herdoniae and Canusium. To identify the *ad pirum* of the *Tab. Peut.* with the *mut. ad undecimum* of the *Itin. Hieros.* leaves Canusium entirely without indication and does not help to solve the problem of *Furfane* and the *turres duae*. Frankly, there can be no convincing solution of this corrupt part of the *Tabula Peutingeriana*. The little that we know of the history of Herdoniae¹ is fully recorded by Mommsen (*C.I.L.* ix. p. 64) and Weiss (Pauly-Wissowa, 'R.E.' vol. viii. 617).

It is chiefly important for us as a road centre. Nissen (*Ital. Land.* ii. 847) regards three roads as meeting at Herdoniae: namely the Via Traiana, the Via Herdonitana from Aeclanum through Vibinum, and a road from Ausculum, neither a *via publica* nor possessed of a name, which was followed by Horace. This is not entirely correct. The Via Herdonitana, which, from the evidence of *C.I.L.* ix. 670, 1156, we would regard as the Via Aurélia Aeclanensis joining Aeclanum and Herdoniae, never touched Vibinum (Bovino) but rather followed the Calaggio valley by Ausculum. It was along this road that Horace went from Aeclanum onwards. Thus only two roads met at Herdoniae,

¹ Its exact orthography is very doubtful. Herdōniae is the generally recognised form, as can be gathered from the various citations of the word which we possess. The singular form may have been used at the end of the republic (as we find in Livy and Strabo), but the plural form was certainly preferred later. Herdōnia, however, is found in Sil. It. viii. 567, as the metre requires.

since Nissen's road from Ausculum to Herdoniae is really the last part of the Via Aurelia Aeclanensis.

The modern village of Ortona is situated to the north of the ancient site, which is definitely fixed by the presence of a *tratturo*, following the course of the Via Traiana and passing in a straight line from the Ponte Rotto over the now dry course of the Carapelle across the present stream and so to the city. Early topographers had some difficulty in locating Herdoniae. For example, Cluver¹ says: 'Herdoniae sive Gerdoniae, Cedogna (*i.e.* Lacedogna)' and 'Infra Aecas versus meridiem est Herdonia opidum, vulgo nunc Cedogna dictum. Nomen eius antiquum, nescio qua variatione, etiam Cerdonia dictum fuit: ut est apud Strabonem vi. unde vulgare nunc vocabulum Cedogna. Opidum diserte Samnitibus, quorum pars erant Hirpini, adscribit Sil. Ital. viii.' Holste² corrects him and says, 'Herdonia autem Ardona.' Pratilli³ quotes Iaconus of Bitonto, who says that the remains of the ancient Herdoniae are to be seen near the 'Osteria d'Ortona.'

On the hill above the station are the remains of what appears to be a rectangular mediaeval castle some 70 paces square defended by a fosse and a wall (now concealed by a mound): a gateway 3 m. wide at the S.W. angle is still preserved. Within it are the foundations of buildings, probably post-Roman: some of them are of extraordinarily bad *opus reticulatum* and brickwork: some of the pieces of brick are only 0.07 metre long, others 0.12, and the work certainly looks like mediaeval imitation. Two of these walls are built up to form an angle, at which was a stone pillar, now removed. The mortar courses are very irregular, and the mortar has been pronounced mediaeval by Dr. Esther van Deman.

This castle undoubtedly occupies part of the site of the Roman town. Considerable portions of what appears to be the Roman city wall are preserved: the first traces we see are across the mouth of a small valley running N.W. and S.E. It is constructed of pebble concrete with a facing of pebbles and was originally only 0.90 metre in thickness. Here there is a rectangular tower about 4 by 3 metres in internal dimensions. To the S.E. in the valley are traces of other buildings in concrete faced with brick (near the head of it is a fine piece of *opus reticulatum* and brickwork; and there is another with a niche). Above it on the N.E. is what seems

¹ *Ital. Ant.*, p. 1202.

² *Ad. Cluv.* pp. 271, 272.

³ *Op. cit.* p. 429.

to be a small amphitheatre some 50×40 yards in dimension (though the seats may well have extended further) with a deep hole in the centre and very scanty remains of construction. To the S.E. again is the same wall of concrete only 0·90 metre thick and preserved to a maximum height of about 10 feet ; so that it seems almost too thin for the city wall, unless it had an internal embankment. This is probable ; for, where the city wall is found again in the hill over the railway to the south of the valley, it is still 0·90 metre thick and has frequent buttresses 0·95 metre thick, tailing back, so that it did not stand free. It then crossed another valley to the south (on the intervening hill are unimportant concrete foundations), and here it is strongly built with heavy deep foundations and two towers apparently at the point of weakness ; it is faced with some *opus incertum* and can be traced again on the hillside to the south (to the west of *Scudella*¹). At the head of the second valley (the one just mentioned) is a large rectangular building with concrete walls about 10 feet high and 2 thick : the long side (which curves a trifle) is 50 paces long, the short, which runs E.S.E., is 11 paces long.

(2) *From Herdoniae to Barium.*

The ancient Itineraries record the following stations and distances on the Via Traiana between Herdoniae and Barium (*C.I.L.* ix. p. 26).

<i>Itin. Anton.</i>	<i>Itin. Hieros.</i>	<i>Tab. Peut.</i>	<i>Geog. Ravennae.</i>	<i>Modern Site.</i>	<i>Estimated distance.</i>
Erdonias	civ. Serdonis	Erdonia	Erdonias	Ordona	
XXVI	XV mut. undecimum	XVIII Furfane ²		Masseria S. Marco	15 miles
Canusio	XI civ. Canusio	XV (turres duae)	Canusio	Canosa	11·75 miles
XXIII	XV mut. ad. quint. decimum	Rudas	Budas	R. ^e Quadrone	15 miles
Rubos	XV (scr. VIII) civ. Rubos	XV Rubos	Rubos	Ruvo	11 miles
XI Budruntus	XI mut. Butontones	Butontos	Butuntos	Bitonto	12 miles
XII Varia	XI civ. Beroes			Bari	11 miles
72	71				75·75

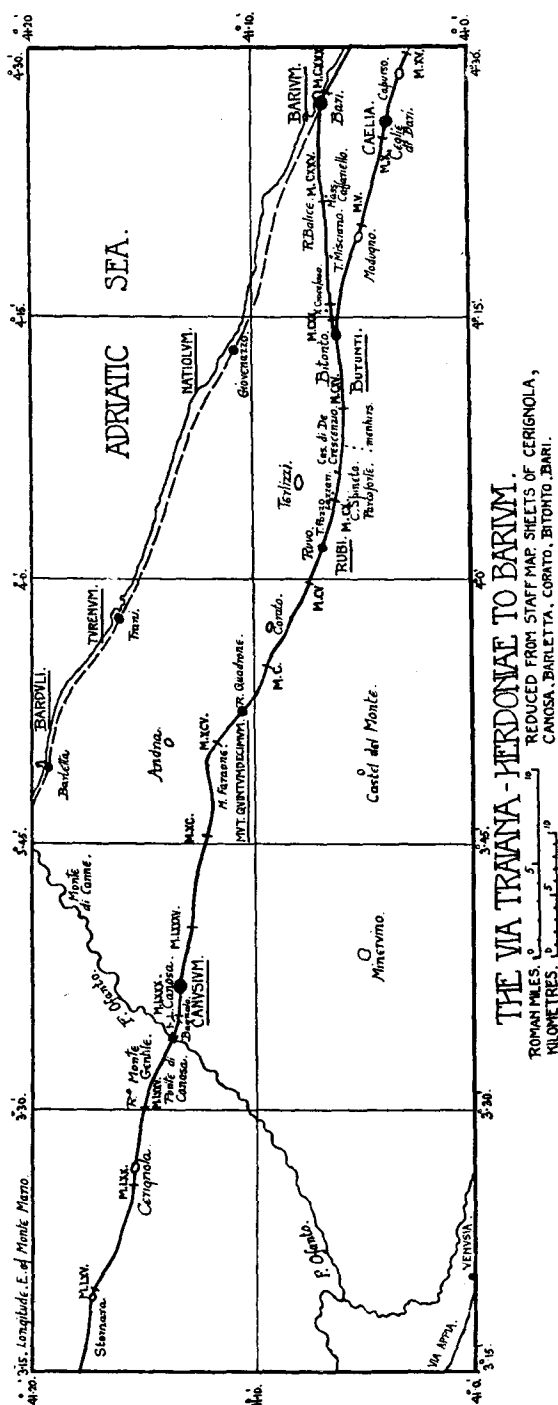
¹ Staff Map, 1 : 50,000 ; Ascoli Satriano, 175, 4.

² On the uncertain interpretation of the *Tab. Peut.* see pages 147, 148 *supra*.

It is difficult to explain the difference of three miles between the actual and recorded distance from Canusium to Rubi, since the course, as measured, is almost a straight line between the two. Possibly the indication of the *Itin. Anton.* is to be altered from xxiii to xxvi. miles.

To the east of the modern village of Ortona we fall into the line of the *tratturo*: the Via Traiana, all traces of which have disappeared, kept, no doubt, a much straighter line than the winding track of the sheep road. In the field to the west of the Masseria Turando¹ or Durante there are traces of ancient Roman buildings, the knowledge of which we owe to Prof. Haseloff. There is to be seen a low concrete wall running N.N.W. about 5 metres long and 0.75 metre thick, faced with fragments of flange tiles and lined with cement. It seems to have formed part of a cistern. (Below the level of the floor the concrete is of rough small

¹ Cf. Staff Map, 1:50,000; Ascoli Satriano, 175. 4.



stones.) The mortar joints are wider. There is nothing else *in situ*. but there are bricks lying about. At the Masseria there is a relief of a horse (no doubt an *equus publicus*) with which we may compare a similar relief at Aeclanum with *fascies* to the spectator's right, on a block of limestone 1.25 metre long and 0.59 metre high.

There are a few Roman bricks loose in the *tratturo* to the north. After this the *tratturo* runs on nearly straight—the Staff-Map has exaggerated its bends—but without presenting any traces of antiquity. As far as Cerignola, which is reached via Stornara, there are no natural difficulties or obstacles.

Concerning Cerignola there are three hypotheses to be considered. The ancient Gereonium (or Gerunium) has been supposed by some¹ to have occupied the site of the modern Cerignola. But Gereonium,² as we gather from Livy and Polybius, must be 200 stades from Luceria towards Larinum, and therefore cannot be the ancient representative of Cerignola.

Secondly Mommsen (*C.I.L.* ix. p. 64) writes: 'Inter Canusium et Erdoniam quae videtur interponi in Peutingerano mansio Furfane incidit fere in oppidum quod nunc est Cerignola.' Grasso (*Studi*, vol. ii. Introduction) says that this is wrong and would place (*ibid.* pp. 40 and 53) the '*mansio Furfane*' between Troia³ and Ortona.

He regards the '*mutatio undecimum*' of the *Itin. Hieros*, 15 m.p. from Herdoniae and 11 m.p. from Canosa, as the ancient site of Cerignola. It is here that according to Orelli-Mewes⁴ (commentary on Hor. *Sat.* 1889) Horace and his companions struck the later Via Traiana.

Perhaps Grasso is right in this hypothesis. He says (*Studi*, vol. ii. Intro.): 'Il nome della borgata preesistente a Cerignola sulla via Traiana

¹ Giovio and Alberti, *Memorie storiche di Cerignola*, Napoli, 1785, reprint, Faenza, 1883.

² Livy, xxii. 18: Ex Paelignis Poenus flexit iter retroque Apuliam repetens Gereonium pervenit, urbem metu quia conlapsa ruinis pars moenium erat, ab suis desertam; dictator in Larinate agro castra communiit. *Ibid.* 24, dein castra ipsa propius hostem movit duo ferme a Gereonio milia in tumulum hosti conspectum (Hannibal).

Polybius, iii. 100, 3, ἀφικόμενος δὲ πρὸς τὸ Γερόνιον, ὃ τῆς Λουκαρίας ἀπέχει διακόσια στάδια.

³ Cf. pages 147, 148 *supra*.

⁴ Antequam autem ad Canusium pervenirent, apud mansionem hodie Cerignola, cui Itin. Hieros. tribuit nomen ad xi miliarium a Canusio Horatius et comites rursus in Viam Appiam (sic!) ingressi sunt.

Conte, *Memorie filologiche sull' antichità della Chiesa di Cerignola*, Napoli, 1887, p. 12, alters the length of the ancient mile and proposes Cerignola as the *oppidulum* of Horace.

non significava altro per i viaggiatori che la distanza di 11 m.p. da Canusium.' The milestone of the Via Traiana to be seen at Cerignola (*C.I.L.* ix. 6022) and indicating a distance of 81 m.p. from Beneventum is out of place, but clearly belongs to the stretch of road between Cerignola and Canosa di Puglia. According both to the *Itin. Anton.* and the *Itin. Hieros.* the distance between Beneventum and the *mutatio undecimum* is 73 m.p., and between the former place and Canusium the distance is 84 m.p. Consequently the provenance of the milestone is obvious. The same writer regards Cerina, which lies some 10 kms. towards the sea, as being the 'mother town' of Cerignola on the analogy of Prata and Pratola, two small communes in the province of Avellino on the

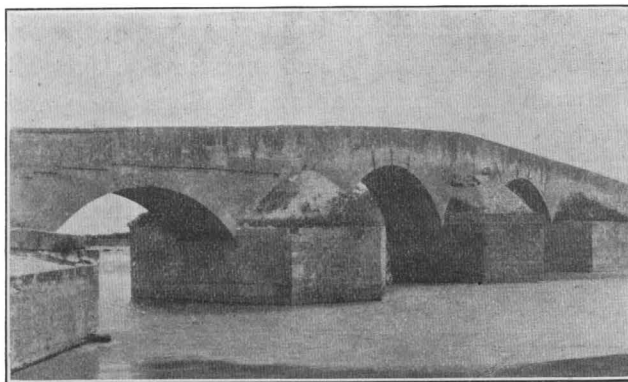


FIG. 22.—BRIDGE OVER THE OFANTO, NEAR CANOSA.

Strada Nazionale from Naples to Foggia, the latter of which took its name from the former. He suggests that we may look for the origin of Cerignola in the place *Κεραονιλία*¹ mentioned by Diodorus Siculus (xx. 26. *Καταπράκταν μὲν οὖν καὶ Κεραονιλίαν ἐκπολιορκήσαντες φρουροὺς ἐπέθηκαν.*)

¹ If this be correct, we may consider the original form of Cerignola as being *Cērīniōla*; hence it is dactylic and cannot be a candidate for Horace's *oppidulum*. But Horace, supposing that Ausculum was the *oppidulum*, could have come by a very easy route to join the line of the later Via Traiana at Cerignola itself or at the Masseria Monte Gentile, halfway to Canosa. Cf. Staff Map, 1:50,000; Cerignola, 175, 1. Pratilli (*op. cit.* p. 511-514) describes such a road from Equotutico (which he places between Trivicum and Canosa, different from the Equumtuticum near Ariano) to Canosa via the Calaggio valley.

Only two other inscriptions (besides the milliarium) are attributed to Cerignola. Of these one (*C.I.L.* ix. 684) is interesting as being a dedication to the '*Bona Dea*' by one *Sextilia*.

The course¹ of the Via Traiana to the east of Cerignola is obviously that of the *tratturo*, and is free from obstacles. We did not actually follow it, inasmuch as the *tratturo* runs alongside the modern highroad through the R. Monte Gentile.

Two miles to the west of Canosa the road crossed the Ofanto by a bridge² (Fig. 22) of which very scanty traces remain in the actual one. The fourth stream pier from the left bank has on the west side of it three blocks of limestone with Roman bossing 0.74 metre high, two headers and a stretcher, which did not seem to be *in situ*. In the upstream buttress of the same pier are some smaller blocks, also very probably Roman, and Prof. Delbrück, who saw the bridge in the summer, when the river was almost dry, assured us that in his opinion it contained Roman work. None of the superstructure is ancient, however, and the bridge is extremely narrow—only 4.20 metres wide over all below and 3.45 metres between the parapets above, they being 0.45 and 0.50 metre wide respectively.

Over a mile to the east of the bridge is the so-called Bagnoli (Fig. 23), a two-storied Roman tomb of concrete, faced with tiles. The exterior is extremely fine, the joints being as small as 0.004 metre wide. There is a fine decorative cornice and an arch on the N. side, and it resembles absolutely in style similar monuments in the neighbourhood of Rome. The tiles of the exterior are triangles, but some are apparently broken to reach this form as far as possible and they do not look as if cut from square bricks. There are, on the other hand, no traces of flanges.

In the interior the tile facing is, as is usual, slightly less careful, but it is obviously of a good period. The pieces of tile are 0.25 metre long and are yellowish red; they seem to be mainly triangles, but some of them are irregular pieces. The vertical joints are 0.005 metre wide and the horizontal vary from 0.005 to 0.01 metre. The mortar is whitish, with peppery grains. The external measurement is about 12 by 6 metres. The vaulting of the lower chamber was supported by two brick pillars, as has been shown by recent excavations.

¹ Pratilli, *op. cit.* p. 518, describes the course of the road from Herdoniae to Canusium. At *Ad Sextum*, which he wrongly reads instead of the *mut. undecimum* of the *Itin. Hieros.*, he says there are remains of ancient buildings to the left of the road. Cerignola he places two miles to the north of the road upon a small hill. He mentions the milestone (lxxxi.) to be seen there.

² Pratilli, *op. cit.* p. 519. Nissen, *op. cit.* vol. ii. p. 854.

Of the amphitheatre, which lay under the modern road, only a little *opus reticulatum* is left.

Further up, on the S. side of the modern road which runs a little to the N. of the ancient line there is a small concrete ruin in a vineyard, probably the core of a tomb. The mortar seems to be bad and it may belong to a late period. A little further up there is a fragment of a marble cornice in the vineyard; then there is the concrete core of a square tomb with some brick facing. At the end of the vineyard towards Canosa is the arch (known as the Porta Romana), which has a single opening 5 m. wide. The two pillars are each 4 metres wide and the breadth of

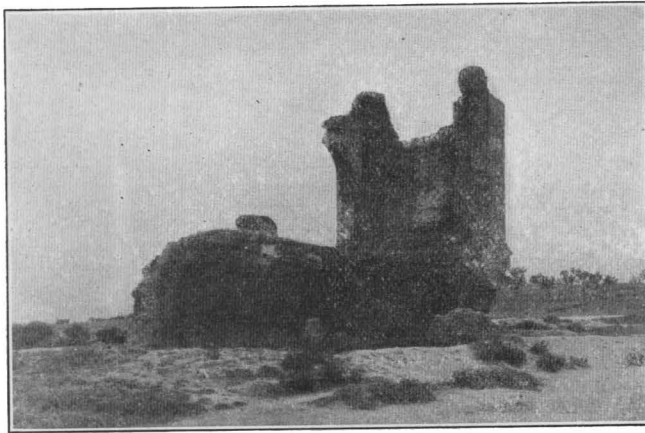


FIG. 23.—BAGNOLI, CANOSA.

the structure is 5.5 metres. The brickwork facing to the concrete is irregular and looks very bad; the bricks are crooked, and long and short pieces are used indiscriminately. The facing has been much restored below and the interior of the arch is tiled.

The hill (Fig. 24) which was occupied by the ancient Apulian¹ city rises sharply from the low ground on which these remains are situated and is nearly 100 metres above the level of the Ofanto at the bridge. The discovery of coins, bearing the Greek² legend *Καννοσίων*, and the

¹ General references to Canusium: *C.I.L.* ix. p. 34, 35; *P.W.* 'R.E.' vol. iii. 1501; Nissen, *It. Land.*, ii. 853-856; Romanelli, *Topogr. storica*, ii. 262; N. Jacobone, *Canosa antica*.

² Garrucci, *Monete d'Italia*, 94.

survival of Greek language¹ there seem to harmonise with the story of its foundation by the Grecian hero, Diomedes. The part which it played in the Hannibalic war was not conspicuous, but it was never taken by Hannibal, and so was a *point d'appui* for the Romans. Two centuries after in the Social War, it revolted from Rome and suffered very severely.² Its later prosperity was due to its position as a port³ and a road-station.⁴ Trades, too, flourished very considerably at Canusium.

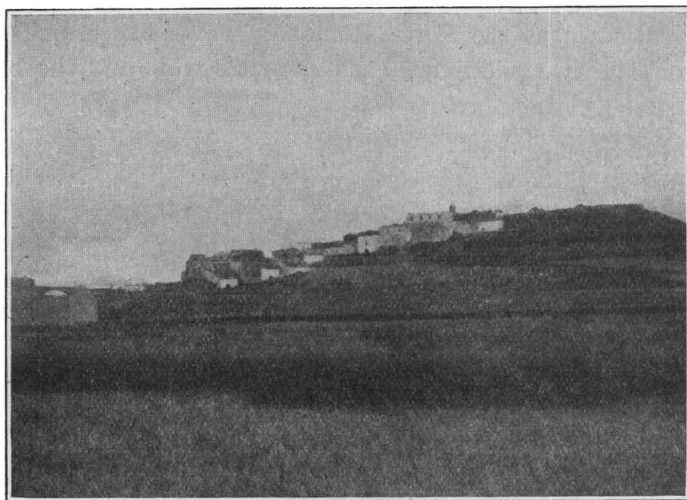


FIG. 24.—HILL OF CANOSA.

In the early empire it was a municipium enrolled in the Tribus Oufentina, but under Antoninus Pius it became the *Colonia Aurelia Augusta Pia Canusium* (C.I.L. ix. 344). Herodes Atticus,⁵ consul in

¹ Horace, *Sat.* i. 5. 92 : nam Canusi (panis) lapidosus, aquae non ditior urna | qui locus a forti Diomede est conditus olim ; *Sat.* i. 10, 30 : Canusini more bilinguis.

² Strabo, vi. 3, 9, p. 283, mentions its degeneracy : οὐ πολὺ γὰρ δὴ τῆς θαλάττης ὑπέρκεινται δύο πόλεις ἔν γε τῷ πεδίῳ, μέγισται τῶν Ἰταλιωτίδων γεγονυῖαι πρότερον, ὥς ἐκ τῶν περιβόλων δῆλον, τό τε Κανύσιον καὶ ἡ Ἀργυρίππη, ἀλλὰ νῦν ἐλάττων ἐστίν.

³ Its harbour, to which ships came up from the Adriatic, was perhaps identical with Cannae. Strabo, vi. 3, 9, p. 283 : ἐκ δὲ Βαρίου πρὸς τὸν ποταμὸν Αἰφιδόν, ἐφ' ᾧ τὸ ἐμπόριον τῶν Κανυσιτῶν, τετρακόσιοι (στάδιοι).

⁴ Before the construction of the Via Traiana it was on one of the regular routes between Beneventum and Brundisium. Strabo, vi. 3, 7, p. 283, considered *supra* p. 108. Frequent mention is made of it in accounts of journeys.

⁵ Philostratus, *vit. soph.*, 2, 1, 5, p. 551 : ᾤκισε δὲ (Herodes Atticus) . . . τὸ ἐν τῇ Ἰταλίᾳ, Κανύσιον ἡμερώσας ὕδατι μάλα τούτου δεόμενον. *Not. d. Scavi*, 1894, 408, records an inscription on a water pipe, R(ei) P(ublicae) C(anusinorum) cur(ante) P· GRAEC(idio) FIRMO.

143 A.D., was responsible for the rebuilding of Canusium and furnished it with a good water supply, which, if we remember Horace's language, 'aquae non ditior urna,' would be a prime requisite.

The top of the hill at Canusium is occupied by a castle¹ which seems to be possibly ancient, though it is generally attributed to Frederick II. The materials at least are ancient. It had no less than four towers and is constructed of massive ashlar masonry; the material is a calcareous tufa-like stone (often wrongly called tufa) and the blocks are 0.83 metre high and 1.40 metres (approximately) long. They are fairly well laid, although only slight traces of mortar are present. The curtain walls, however, are of much smaller blocks and mortar is more freely used. The castle commands a splendid view, seawards to the promontory of Gargano, down and up the Ofanto and across to M. Vulture and the mountains near it. To the east are the round desolate Murge with Minervino perched upon them. There are no other traces of the city walls of Canosa.

Within the modern city, on the eastern portion of the site, at S. Chiara in the Vico Giovanni Prati and in the Piazza are the remains of a large Roman concrete building faced with *opus reticulatum* and fine tilework; the mortar is pinkish white. The tiles are magenta colour: they are irregular fragments 0.25 to 0.28 metre long and the vertical joints only 0.005 metre wide. The principal part of the building is a structure about 16 metres square sunk below the ground level, probably a cistern, for a *cuniculus* with a pointed roof runs into it. It probably belongs to the early second century A.D. and may be connected with the rebuilding by Herodes Atticus in 143 A.D. (The construction of the Via Traiana gave an impetus to all the towns upon its line.) Slightly below is a large octagonal vaulted structure with a narthex, known as the Battistero di S. Giovanni, about 20 metres across: round the central octagon are barrel vaulted passages.

The necropolis of Canusium was situated on the S. edge of the *tratturo* to the south of the town and to the east of the railway station. Its tombs have produced a large number of fine vases, which have been recently discussed by Jatta (*Röm. Mittheil.* xxix. p. 90) and Nachod (*ibid.* p. 260).

For the first four miles to the east of Canosa the ground is heavily

¹ For the characteristics of mediaeval fortifications constructed from Roman materials. see Gsell, *Les monuments antiques de l'Algérie*, vol. ii. p. 344 *seq.*

cultivated and no traces of the line of the road are left: it must have passed across two valleys, neither of which presented any serious difficulty. We then come to a track which runs a little south of east and must preserve the line of the Via Traiana: no traces, however, are to be seen along it, they having been obliterated by its conversion into a *tratturo*. Castel del Monte far to the south now comes prominently into view on its lonely mound. The main road from Canosa to Andria is crossed and now a part of the *tratturo* has been converted into a driving road.

On the northern extremity of the stony M. Faraone¹ (almost due south of Andria) there are scanty traces of a mediaeval castle, overlooking the road: the recinto seems to have been about 300 yards square, but nothing is left beyond some mounds and foundations. Beyond the Monte Faraone the track runs perfectly straight and is some 6 to 7 metres wide. The main *tratturo*, which we presently cross at right angles, runs from Trinitapoli, avoiding Corato, up to the Murge. The *mutatio quintumdecimum* may be placed in the R. Quadrone, south-east of the Monte Faraone.

Corato² does not occupy an ancient site, but the district was inhabited by a prehistoric population.

The first dolmen recorded in this part of Italy lies in the contrada *La Chianca* six kilometres from B'sceglie on the road to Ruvo. It was discovered by the late Prof. A. Mosso in 1909,³ but Dott. Michele Gervasio, Director of the Museum at Bari, has discovered several other dolmens in the district since then, notably one near Corato,⁴ the Chianche dei Paladini.

We ourselves were able to add to the prehistoric antiquities by the discovery of a row of four fine *menhirs* between Ruvo and Bitonto, along the lane which follows the boundary of the *circondari* of Terlizzi and Bitonto, immediately to the south of the line of the Via Traiana, in the contrada Spineto Parcoforte. The first of them is in the middle of the track, which is 11 metres wide: it measures 2.43 metres in height and 0.80 metre in width from N.E. to S.W. and 0.42 metre from N.W. to S.E. The former dimension decreases towards the top but not the latter.

The second is some 500 metres down the track on its W. side: it is less than 2 metres high and much worn away at the top. Some 700 or

¹ Staff Map, 1:50,000; Barletta, 176, 1.

² The milestones *C.I.L.* ix. 6040, 6042, 6043, 6044, were discovered at and in the vicinity of Corato.

³ See Angelo Mosso, *Le origini della civiltà Mediterranea*, 1910, p. 167 *seq.*

⁴ See Michele Gervasio, *I dolmen e la civiltà del bronzo nelle Puglie*. Bari, 1913, pp. 1-69.

800 metres further on is a third 2·25 metres high, the side parallel to the road (from north to south) measuring 0·68 metre and the other 0·35 metre. About a kilometre further on, at the point where the driving road, into which our track has fallen, turns to run E.S.E., on the west of it is a fourth *menhir* (Fig. 25) 2·25 metres high, 0·83 metre wide from north to



FIG. 25.—MENHIR BETWEEN RUVO AND BITONTO.

south, and 0·50 metre from east to west. We informed Dott. Gervasio of the find and he has published two of them.¹

The line of the *tratturo*, which must follow the Via Traiana, keeps about a mile to the S.S.W. of Corato: but there is no visible trace of antiquity as far as Ruvo nor again to the east of it. There is, however, a stretch of the *crepido* of the road extant in a vineyard near Ruvo (Fig. 26). We are indebted for the photograph to the Cav. Jatta of Ruvo.

¹ *Op. cit.* p. 338 *sqq.*, Figs. 107, 108.

The modern Ruvo preserves the name of the ancient Rubi,¹ on the site of which it is situated. It is mentioned by Horace in the account of his journey to Brundisium.

The *mansio Rudae* or *Dudae* (*Tab. Pent.* and *Geogr. Rav.*) which Mommsen² supposes to be represented by the modern Andria, cannot be located with exactitude, as the Via Traiana passed some three and a half kilometres to the south of that city (which is not ancient). But possibly

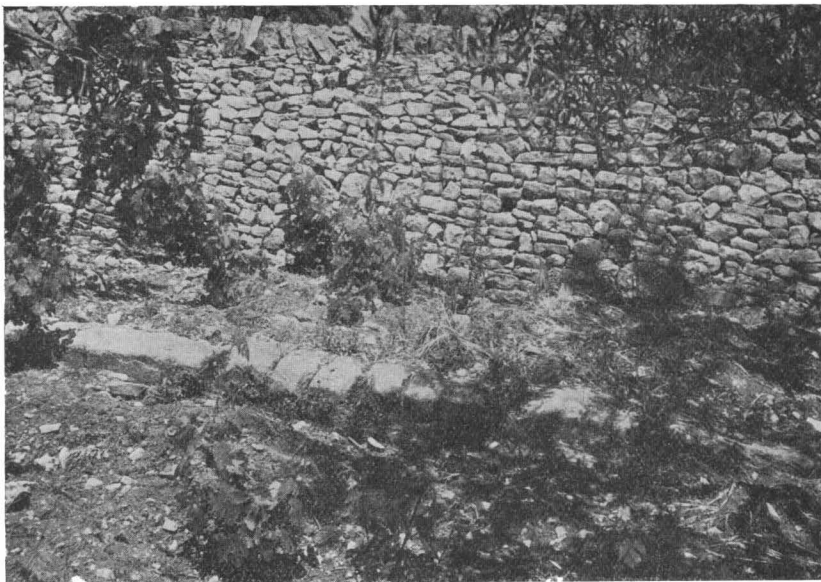


FIG. 26.—CREPIDO OF THE VIA TRAIANA, NEAR RUVO.

the *mutatio ad quint. decimum* of the *Itin. Hieros.* may be identified with it, and as the distance separating it from Canusium is 15 miles it may be placed somewhere in the *R. Quadrone*,³ S.S.E. of Andria.

¹ 'Inde Rubos fessi pervenimus, utpote longum
Carpentes iter et factum corruptius imbri.' (*Sat.* I, 5, 94).

In Pliny (iii. 11, 105) we read of the *Rubustini*: and perhaps in § 102 where we read 'Poediculorum oppida Rudiae (ruriae *Lugd.*) Egnatia Barium, we ought to read Rubi Egnatia, unless we are to suppose that Pliny erroneously assigned Ennius' birthplace to the Poediculi. The *auctor libri coloniarum interpolati* (p. 262) gives *Rubustinus ager*. We possess a considerable number of coins from Rubi, silver and bronze, bearing the inscriptions 'ΡΥΨ and 'ΡΟΒΑΣΤΕΛΩΝ. Sambon, *Monnaies de la presqu'île Italique*, p. 214.

² *C.I.L.* ix. p. 33. Inter Rubos et Canusium quae videtur in itinerariis interponi *mansio Rudae* sive *Budae*, incidens fere in oppidum quod nunc est Andria, titulis paene caret. Non recte ad eam referri locum Plinii, iii, 11, 102, modo monui, p. 6.

³ Cf. Staff Map, 1 : 50,000; Barletta, 176, 1.

A little after reaching the Torre Pozzo Lazzari, due south of Terlizzi, the road abandons its southward tendency and begins to run almost due east. Here the *tratturo* is about 30 metres wide and there is mediaeval cobble paving some 6 or 7 metres wide on its northern side. After passing the Casino di De Crescenzo we reached the dolmens already mentioned, and from this point the *tratturo*, to avoid high ground, descends gradually in an E.N.E. direction. The modern stone huts with beehive roofs but square on plan are noticeable hereabouts as survivals. Further on towards Bitonto the track narrows down to 5 or 6 metres, and still there are no ancient traces upon it: it is not certain whether the road passed here or not.

Bitonto represents the Apulian and Roman Butunti, though no ancient remains above ground are to be seen at the present time. Bronze coins have been found having the legend ΒΥΤΟΝΤΙΝΩΝ. The itineraries variously give *Budrundus Butontones* and Butontos. Pliny (iii. 11, 105) mentions *Butuntinenses*, but wrongly locates them among the inland peoples of Calabria. The town is noticed by Martial,¹ but in a derogatory strain. The *auctor libri coloniarum interpolati* (p. 262) writes *Botontinus ager*.² Although it may have been more than a mere *mutatio* in ancient times, no inscriptions have come to light there.

At Bitonto the main track of the Via Traiana continued towards Bari, but a shorter road mentioned in the *Tabula Peutingerana* cut straight across country to Egnatia. The *Tabula Peutingerana* describes it as follows (*C.I.L.* ix. p. 26) :—

BVTVNTOS
VIII
Celia
VIII
Ezetium
XX (?)
Norve³
VIII
ad Veneris
VIII
Gnatie

¹ iv. 55, 29 'Haec tam rustica malo quam Butontos.'

² To the stretch between Ruvo and Bitonto belong the milestones *C.I.L.* ix. 6040–6051. For excavations at Bitonto see *Not. d. Scavi*, 1882 : 242, 1886 : 239, 1887 : 204, 1897 : 433.

³ Mommsen notes : statio adiungitur, errore ut videtur, extremae viae vi. *sub Lubatia* : numerus xx. utrum pertineat ad viam Norva—Ezetium numero carentem an ad aliam viam parum constat.

The *Geographer of Ravenna* (4, 35) mentions the following stations:—Butuntos, Celia, Ezetium, Norbe, Veneris.

Horace after reaching Ruvo followed the line of the later Via Traiana to Barium and Egnatia, but the road described by Strabo¹ took a somewhat shorter course (precisely that set forth above) and between Ruvo and Gnathia passed through Celia (Καίλια) and Netium. This was a more direct route, and we may conjecture that the Via Traiana was only taken to Barium because of that city's importance as a harbour. Possibly, too, the fact that Bari now became a road centre would add greatly to its prosperity.

Nine miles from Bitonto this road reaches Ceglie di Bari (the ancient Caelia²). We must distinguish it from a Caelia in Calabria, between Baletium and Brundisium, which is to be sought in the modern Cellino or Ceglie Messapica.

The exact locations of the stations *Ezetium*, *Norve*, and *ad Veneris* are quite uncertain, but it seems possible that a line through the modern sites of Bitonto, Modugno, Ceglie di Bari, Rutigliano, and Conversano approximately represents the course of this ancient road.³ The length of such a course is 45 miles. The distance between Butunti and Ceglie di Bari would seem to be 10 rather than 9 (as stated by the *Tab. Pent.*). We may place *Ezetium* conjecturally at a point about 1 mile east of Noicattaro. The 20 miles which the *Tab. Pent.* gives between *Ezetium* and *Norve* may be changed to 12 and the station of *Norve* put 1 mile north-east of Conversano. *Ad Veneris*, 8 miles distant each way from *Norve* and Gnathia, would then lie 2 miles south-west of Monopoli. We did not follow the inland route. It is improbable that it descended sharply off

¹ Strabo, vi. 3, 7, p. 282.

² The form Καίλια is better attested than that of Κελία. Strabo (*loc. cit.*) gives 'Καίλια'; Ptolemy, iii. 1, 73, says 'Ἀπουλῶν Πευκετίων μεσόγειοι . . . Κελία. In the *Tab. Pent.* and the *Geog. Raven.* we read Celia. The *liber coloniarum interpolatus* (p. 262) gives 'Caelinus ager' and in an inscription from Rome we read (*C.I.L.* vi. 2382, 6, c. 33 : C · VALERIVS C · F · CLA · MARCVLIN · CAEL). From this inscription it is clear that Caelia was registered in the Tribus Claudia. From Caelia come bronze and silver coins inscribed Καίλιων. The inscriptions from Caelia are mostly funerary and none of them cast any light upon the local constitution. Kaibel, *I.G.* xiv. 686, records a Greek fragment.

³ Mommsen, *C.I.L.* ix. p. 30, says: 'Mediterranea quoque via Gnathia Butontum ducens stationes habet *ad Veneris*, *Norve*, *Ezetium* et ipsas auctoribus quos habemus ignotas; temere enim Netium oppidum, quod Strabo vi. 3, 7, p. 282, inter Caeliam et Canusium interponit, ad Ezetium illud rettulerunt alio omnino loco situm. Lapides scriptos hae quoque partes adhuc non magis dederunt.

the Murge near Gnathia ; it would rather come down more gradually and run for some distance almost parallel with the coast road.

Twelve miles from Butonti according to the *Itin. Anton.* (the *Itin. Hieros.* gives xi.), the Via Traiana reaches the ancient Barium (Bari delle Puglie). The track from Bitonto leads out eastward past the church of the Crocefisso, and after a mile or two crosses a valley near the Fondo Balice.¹ Here are the remains of a mediaeval building on the E. side of the ravine, probably of a small mediaeval castle which guarded the passage. Nothing is preserved of it but an underground hall some 10 metres long and 9 metres wide, with a pointed roof built of small rectangular blocks of stone some 0.52 metre long and only 0.11 metre high. The hall runs N.N.E. and S.S.W., and at its S. end is a rock-cut reservoir with a barrel-vaulted roof of similar stonework, about 10 metres long by 6 metres wide, placed end on to the hall. A door on the E. side of the latter leads into some passages cut in the rock. There is a small modern house above it.

To the south-east is the Torre Misciano which some local archaeologists believe (wrongly) to be a corruption of Mucianus, and they place here an ancient villa, of which, however, there are no traces to be seen. The ground is cultivated and the track has disappeared ; but it takes up again further to the east in the Riserva Balice,² though the ancient road must have run a good deal straighter. To the north-east of the Masseria Caffariello³ it is about 10 metres wide. It is for a while followed by the communal boundary of Bari. Near the town, however, in the low ground it disappears altogether.

Though Barium⁴ possesses a fine natural harbour, its position, turned away from the markets of the ancient world, must have prevented it from becoming conspicuously important. It may have played a part in the struggles for supremacy in Magna Graecia at the end of the fourth century B.C. and in 180 B.C. ; it is mentioned by Livy⁵ in connexion with

¹ Cf. Staff Map, 1 : 50,000 ; Bari delle Puglie, 177, 2.

² *Ibid.* ³ *Ibid.*

⁴ All available information concerning Barium is given by Mommsen, *C.I.L.* ix. p. 30, 31 ; Hülsen in Pauly-Wissowa, '*R.E.*' iii. 19 ; and Nissen, *Ital. Land.* ii. 358. According to Horace, *Sat.* i. 5, 92, it was famous for its fish, while Pliny, *N.H.* xiv. 69, is probably to be referred to its wines. Tacitus' mode of expression (*Ann.* xvi. 9 Silanus tamquam Naxum deveheretur Ostiam amotus post municipio Apuliae, cui nomen Barium, clauditur) would lead one to think it unimportant.

⁵ Livy, xi. 18, inter duumviros ita divisa tuenda denis navibus maritima ora, ut promunturium iis Minervae velut cardo in medio esset ; alter inde dextram partem usque ad Massiliam, laevam alter usque ad Barium tueretur.

a division of the Roman fleet. Such importance as it possessed as a road-centre¹ cannot be referred to an early period. Three roads met at Barium. The Via Traiana reached the Adriatic coast here. A coast road from Sipontum, of which we know practically nothing, here joined the Via Traiana, while a cross road, equally uncertain, connected Barium with Tarentum.

(3) *From Barium to Brundisium.*

Between Barium and Brundisium the following stations and distances are recorded by the ancient Itineraries (*C.I.L.* ix. p. 26).

<i>Itin. Anton.</i>	<i>Itin. Hieros.</i> ²	<i>Tab. Pent.</i>	<i>Geog. Ravennae.</i>	<i>Modern Site.</i>	<i>Estimated distance.</i>
A. (p. 313, 315)	B. (p. 117, 118)				
Barium	Varia	civitas Beroes	Barium	Barium	
XXII	XXI	XI mut. Turres Julianas	XX	Masseria Vito Luigi	11 miles
Arnesto (Ernesto)	Turribus	IX mut. Turres Aurilianas	Turris Caesaris	Turris Caesaris	Torre Ripagnola
XV	XVI	XV	IX Vertum	Diriam (Dixium)	N.E. of Monopoli
Gnatiae	Egnatiae	civitas Leonatiae	IX Gnatia	Gnatia (Egnatiae)	Torre d'Egnazia
XXI	XX	X ad decimum. mut.			Torre S. Leonardo
Speluncis	Speluncis	XI Spilenaces mansio	Speluncis	Speluncas	Torre S. Sabina
XVIII	XIX	XIV	XXVIII		
Brundisium	Brundisium	Brindisi civitas	Brindisi	Brentesion	Brindisi
76	76	70	?		71 miles

Between Bari and Monopoli the modern highroad along the coast seems to represent the course of the Via Traiana, and it did not seem worth while to follow it, inasmuch as the probability of the existence of any ancient traces along it is extremely small. From Monopoli onwards,

¹ *C.I.L.* ix. pp. 25, 26.

² It is curious that the *Itin. Hieros.* should be more exact here than the *Itin. Anton.* The total distance between Beneventum and Brundisium, as measured along the probable course of the road, is almost 205 miles. The *Itin. Anton.* gives a total of 206, the *Itin. Hieros.* of 199 miles.

it is represented by a track, and to the south-east of the Masseria Mantia it ran quite close to the sea. Here, indeed, Prof. Quagliati (Director of the Museum at Taranto) told us that he had seen a piece of the road inundated by the sea; and though there was nothing certainly Roman to be seen, this must have been the ancient line.

On the Via Traiana, between Barium and Gnathia, the Itineraries place the following stations: *mut. Turres Iulianas* xi miles from Barium, Arnestum or the *mut. Turres Aurilianas* (or *Turris Caesaris* or simply *Turribus*) xx or xxi miles, *Vertum* ix miles from *Turris Caesaris* and *Gnatia* respectively, and *Diriam*¹ (or *Dixium*) of unknown position.

Guido (c. 27, 71) identifies *Diria* (*Diriam* being the accusative form) with the modern Monopoli, and the *Turres Iulianas* with Polignano. There is no authority for this identification.² It is asserted, however, from the existence of bronze³ coins bearing the legend Νεαπο, and all struck in Apulia, that Polignano was once called Neapolis. There are practically no inscriptions or traces of antiquity to be discovered in these parts. *C.I.L.* ix. 273 (found at Polignano) is a votive tablet to Antoninus Pius, and at Turi, six miles from Conversano, a funeral cippus (ix. 274) was discovered.

Some nine miles south of Monopoli are to be seen the ruins at the Torre d'Egnazia, which represent the site of the ancient Gnatia,⁴ Gnathia, Egnatia, or Ignatia, the most southerly town belonging to the Peucetii.

¹ That the *Diriam* of the Geogr. Raven. is to be preferred to the *Vertum* of the Tab. Peut. may be suggested from Pliny, *N.H.* iii. 11, 105, who speaks of Dirini.

² Nissen, *op. cit.* p. 860, places *Turres Caesaris* at Polignano, *Diria* at Monopoli. Pratilli (*op. cit.* pp. 534-543) describes the Via Traiana from Barium to Gnathia. At *Torre Ripagnola* (Staff Map, 1:50,000; Mola di Bari, 178, 3, where 'Ruderi' are marked) he places *Turres Caesaris*. He is certainly wrong in identifying *Turres Iulianas* with '*Turres Aurelianas*,' '*Turribus*,' and '*Turris Caesaris*.' The three latter are clearly the same, but '*Turres Iulianas*' is nearer Barium. He says that pavement is visible for three miles near S. Vito (south of Torre Ripagnola) at a distance of fifty paces from the sea. Here he would place the station of *Arnesto*, but it is almost certainly to be identified with *Turres Caesaris*, as Pratilli himself later suggests. The station of *Vertum* or *Diria* he locates at the *Torre Orto* just north of Monopoli. Between *Torre Orto* and Monopoli he says that pavement is to be seen. South of Monopoli he states that the road passed quite near the '*fortino di S. Stefano*' and the '*Torre di Centola*' (both of these are given on the Staff Map, 1:50,000; Monopoli, 190, 1, as *S. Stefano* and *Torre Cindola*). The *Torre di Palasciano* farther south may perhaps be represented by the modern *Lo Sciale* on the same map. Much pavement, he says, is to be seen from there to Gnathia.

³ Sambon, *op. cit.* p. 213; Mommsen, *C.I.L.* ix. p. 30, says: 'eos enim tradunt in Polignanensi territorio potissimum eruderari.'

⁴ The name of the city is given in various forms. A bronze caduceus from the neighbouring Fasano (*I.G.* xiv. 685) reads ΓΝΑΘΙΝΟΝ; two tiles, *ibid.* 2401¹ and 2402² give respec-

M. Mayer (*Röm. Mitt.* xix. 227) regards the name as being of Rhodian origin (Ῥωμητες = αὐθιγενεῖς). Originally it seems to have been an Iapygian settlement, which later on fell to the Messapians and finally to the Peucetii. Strabo, Pliny,¹ and Ptolemy, all assign it to the Peucetii; but in one passage Pliny (ii. 240) wrongly says that it was a town of the Sallentini.

Before the rise of Brundisium Gnatia would be a post of considerable importance, and the discoveries of Attic vases² are a proof of commercial relations with Greece. Later on, it was overshadowed by Brundisium, and mentioned only very rarely. Some³ have thought that Horace's complaint against the scantiness or bad quality of the water at Gnatia is unfounded. That the place had a constitution we gather from the inscription (*C.I.L.* ix. 263) which mentions an AED(ilis) I(ure) D(icundo).

The Via Traiana, as the excavations tell us for certain, ran right through the ancient city of Egnatia, and the gates through which it passed can still be traced. The town walls form a perfect rectangle, except on the sea side (where there are none), and are built on the outside of well-coursed rectangular blocks of stone, while, on the interior, the stonework is left rough. They are at least five metres in thickness and have a large fosse in front of them. The finest piece is at the north-east end of the north-west side by the sea, where the fortifications are double with a cut some five or six metres wide between them. Here the outer wall is preserved to a height of sixteen courses. Excavations, now in active progress under Prof. Quintino Quagliati's direction, have led to the discovery of houses of the Roman period within the walls, with mosaic

tively ΓῬΝΑΘΙΣ and ΓῬΝΑΘΙΟΣ. The form Gnatia is used by Horace, *Sat.* i. 5, 97 (dein Gnatia lymphis | iratis exstructa) Mela ii. 66, and the Geogr. Rav. iv. 31. The locative form (Gnatiae) is read in the *Itin. Anton.* 313. Gnatia comes from the Tab. Peut. and also from the Geogr. Rav. Egnatia and the corresponding Greek form Ἐγνατία are given respectively by Pliny, *N.H.* ii. 240, iii. 102; Ptolemy, iii. 1, 13, and Strabo, vi. 3, 8, p. 282. The locative form of this (Egnatiae) we discover in the *Itin. Anton.* 117; Ignatiae comes from the Geogr. Rav. v. i. Ignatinus [ager] is used in the *Lib. coloniarum*, p. 262; Leonatiae by the *Itin. Hieros.* 609 and Augnatium by Guido, 27, 71. See Pratilli, *op. cit.* pp. 544, 545; L. Pepe, *Notizie storiche ed archeologiche dell' antica Gnathia*, Ostuni, 1882.

¹ Strabo, vi. 3, 8, p. 283. παραπλέοντι δ' ἐκ τοῦ Βρεντεσίου τὴν Ἀδριατικὴν παραλίαν πόλις ἐστὶν ἡ Ἐγνατία ὅσα κοινὴ καταγωγὴ πλεοντί τε καὶ πεξεύοντι εἰς Βάριον...μέχρι δεῦρο μὲν Πευκέτιοι κατὰ θάλατταν. Pliny, iii. 102. Ptolemy, iii. 1, 13.

² M. Mayer, *op. cit.* and *loc. cit.*

³ Nissen, *op. cit.* vol. ii. p. 860, note 10, says: *Gnatia lymphis iratis exstructa* kann angesichts der reichen und trefflichen Quellen des Ortes nicht auf Wasserarmut gedeutet werden.

pavements, showing traces of reconstruction several times : the walls are of fairly good *opus quadratum*. Below them are tombs, both inhumation and cremation, in one of which was discovered a black-figured lekythos. The details of the results are not available for us. The acropolis was on the side towards the sea and had a separate wall round it, besides being strongly fortified.

Between Gnatia and Brundisium the Itineraries place the following stations : *ad decimum mutatio* (*Itin. Hieros.*) 10 miles from Gnatia, and *Speluncae* (or, variously, *Spelunae* or *Spilenaces mansio*) 20 or 21 miles from Gnatia. If *ad decimum mutatio* is placed in the neighbourhood of the Torre S. Leonardo¹ and *Speluncae* near the Torre S. Sabina,² the distances are approximately satisfied.

Pratilli (*op. cit.* p. 544-547) gives a full account of this stretch of the Via Traiana. The course of the road is described with accuracy, and the names mentioned by Pratilli (chiefly those of mediaeval towers) survive almost without exception. But he makes a great mistake in asserting that between Gnatia and Brundisium the Via Traiana had two courses, one along the coast as described above, another inland which diverged from the coast road at the Torre Villanova and went to Ostuni, which he regards as the station *Speluncae* of the Itineraries. He wrongly follows Holste in this identification. The Via Traiana, he states, goes thence straight to Brundisium and pavement is to be seen on the route.

It is better, however, to put the station of *Speluncae* on the coast, as the name suggests—and, reckoning the distance of twenty or twenty-one miles from Gnatia, perhaps we may locate it, as suggested above, at the Torre S. Sabina on the coast N.N.E. of Carovigno, where there are low hills near the shore.

The road clearly ran along the low ground between the escarpment of the low coast hills and the shore, and, as far as could be ascertained, there are no traces of antiquity to be seen upon it until Apani is reached, about eleven kilometres before arriving at Brindisi.³ Here are conspicuous

¹ Cf. Staff Map, 1 : 50,000 ; Ostuni, 191, 3.

² Cf. Carta d' Italia del Touring Club Italiano, Lecce.

³ In *Italie pittoresque* (Tableau historique et descriptif de l'Italie, du Piémont, de la Sardaigne, de Malte, de la Sicile et de la Corse, Paris, 1835), p. 49, we read : On distingue encore ça et là quelques dalles intactes de la voie antique et je découvris moi-même au milieu de la plaine un vaste fragment de construction réticulaire. Était-ce un temple ? une villa ? un tombeau ? C'est ce que je ne saurais dire. Tout ce que je puis affirmer, c'est que c'est un débris romain. We are unable to state the nature or position of this construction in *opus reticulatum*.

remains of a bridge and viaduct belonging to the Via Traiana. They are described in the Guida di Brindisi¹ (1910) by Cav. Pasquale Camassa. In the *tenuta l'Apani* there is a depression (now entirely covered by vineyards) in which runs a stream emptying into the Adriatic. In the Roman period the depression was certainly much more distinctly marked than at present, owing to the effects of cultivation, and it is probable that in the rainy season it was a marsh. The line of the Via Traiana went at right angles across this depression, and so the construction of a bridge and viaduct was rendered necessary.

The bridge no longer exists, but the viaduct is well preserved. It was constructed of concrete, brickwork and *opus reticulatum* (Fig. 27),

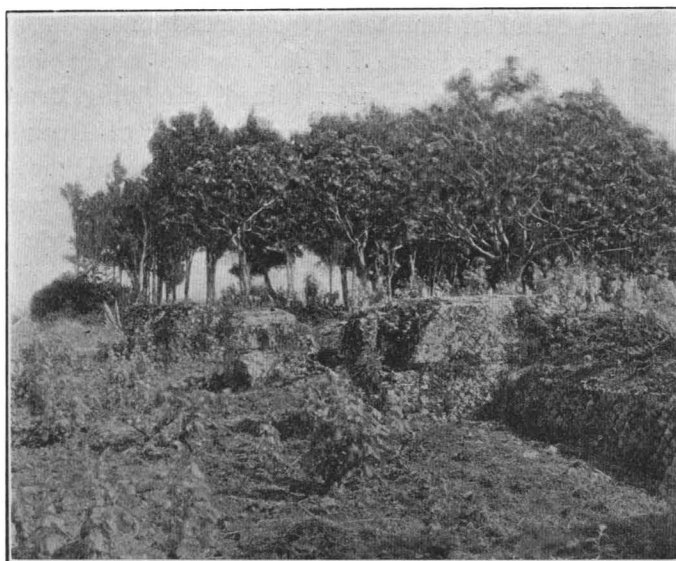


FIG. 27.—VIADUCT OF THE VIA TRAIANA AT APANI.

the facing being composed of the two latter materials. It was strengthened with buttresses² of similar materials. The viaduct runs N.W. by S.E. (uncorrected), and over all was 142 metres long; the bridge over the stream, of which no traces now remain, was 11·20 metres long. The

¹ Camassa erroneously says that the viaduct was used for the Via Appia. He means the Via Traiana.

² Compare the structure of the buttresses in the bridges across the Cervaro and Carapelle near Ortona.

total width was 6.35 metres, including the side walls, which were about 0.80 metre thick. The road would be about five metres across. The buttresses project some 1.35 metres from the vertical plain, and vary in distance apart from 3.10 to 3.82 metres. The mortar is whitish, and the measurements of the brick courses are as follows: mortar, 1.8 cms.; brick, 3.5 cms.; mortar, 1.9 cms.; brick, 3 cms.; mortar, 1.0 cm. There are no traces of the continuation of the road either way, and no remains of pavement.

Another construction in the same neighbourhood which is to be attributed to the Romans is the *Pozzo S. Vito*,¹ situated about three kilometres to the north of the station of S. Vito. The well is of circular shape, and is about ten metres in diameter: the walling is constructed of an external casement of limestone blocks faced on the inside by *opus reticulatum* in tufa. In the *Fondo S. Vito* there is also a *cuniculus*, which originally led into the aqueduct, now ruined, supplying Brundisium.

As there are no traces of the ancient walls of Brundisium, we cannot definitely say where the Via Traiana entered the city; but it is probable that it would come in just below the western arm of the Inner Harbour, and meet the Via Appia inside the city. There is not much reason to suppose that the Column of Brindisi²

¹ Cf. Camassa, *op. cit.* pp. 27, 28.

² Camassa, *op. cit.* p. 21. The survivor of two twin columns (the other fell in 1528 and was transported to Lecce) is to be seen near the harbour at Brindisi. It is composite in style; the pillar is made of cipollino, the pedestal and capital of white marble. The capital is adorned with twelve figures (head and shoulders alone), four of which represent Jupiter, Neptune, Minerva and Mars; the remaining eight are Tritons. The whole is nineteen metres high and bears on its base the following incomplete inscription:—

ILLVSTRIS PIVS ACTIB·ATQ:REFVLGE
PTOSPATHA LVPVS VRBEM HANC STRUXIT AD
QVAM IMPERATORES MAGNIFICIQ: BENIGNI

The two columns are probably to be referred to the time of Sulla, who, in order to recompense Brundisium for its co-operation in the Social War, granted it *ἀτέλεια*, the nature of which is in dispute. Cf. Appian, *B.C.* i. 79. *δεξαμένων δ' αὐτὸν ἀμαχεί τῶν Βρεντεσίων τοῖσδε μὲν ὑστερον ἔδωκεν ἀτέλειαν ἣν καὶ νῦν ἔχουσιν.* The question has been examined in detail by B. W. Henderson (*Classical Review*, xi. p. 251 *seq.*) Holding that it is impossible to interpret *ἀτέλεια* in any other sense than that of exemption from *portoria*, he suggests that these dues which were universally abolished by the Lex Caecilia of 60 B.C. were reinstated probably by Nero. Trajan, however, in order to develop the commercial prosperity of the east coast of Italy, revived the gift to Brundisium of exemption from *portoria* which Sulla had bestowed upon it. As Strachan-Davidson suggests (Appian *B.C.* i. p. 82, note 6) it is hard to see why such a gap in the Italian customs cordon should have been allowed, but no more satisfactory explanation can be offered.

marks the conclusion of the Via Appia, but, if such were the case, the two roads would certainly meet at that spot.

THOMAS ASHBY.

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NOTE.—Dr. Ashby has been mainly responsible for the topographical notes, Mr. Gardner for the literary evidence, maps and illustrations; but every point of uncertainty has been carefully discussed by both.

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